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VOL. II. NO. 14.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1891.

WHOLE NO. 41

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## The Reviews.

### POLITICAL.

#### CAN WE COERCE CANADA?

ERASTUS WIMAN.

*North American Review, New York, January.*

A CONDITION of commercial belligerency exists along the entire northern border of the United States. The extent of this border-land, four thousand miles in length, and the fact that beyond it lies the greater half of the Continent, impart to this condition of hostility an importance, which makes the question of its abatement second to nothing else now before the American public. Along this unequalled line of demarcation which runs across the Continent some degrees to the south of its centre, the vast commerce of the United States breaks like a huge wave and rolls back upon itself. Beyond it lies a region larger, richer, and more susceptible of development for the good of mankind than any other region of the earth's surface. Its possibilities of commerce vastly exceed those of the distant southern nationalities to whom Mr. Blaine has beckoned, and to whom Congress has called. Between

Canada and the United States there is an absolute physical union of greater extent, than is to be found between any other two countries in the world. The Continent, it has been well said by Goldwin Smith, is an "economic whole;" yet by an utterly unnecessary dual fiscal system, which cuts it into two parts, less than one-half of its vast extent imparts its wealth to the world. It rests with the American people to say how long this shall remain.

It will be said, and with some truth, that the United States is in no respect to blame for the continued isolation of Canada; that there has always been a perfect readiness to receive Canada on terms of perfect equality into the Union. But on the Canadian side, there has been a bitter and almost unexplainable hostility to it. The material advantages that would follow annexation have been abundantly apparent, but these are not sufficiently valued to turn the scale against sentiment and prejudice. The whole body of politics in Canada is permeated through and through with loyalty to the British throne, for which universal sentiment there is little cause for surprise. The Canadians are a practically self-governing community; and to contemplate the cessation of a sentiment of loyalty to Great Britain, and to transfer the allegiance of a whole people to her great rival, is simply to contemplate a condition of traitorism that no political party could for one instant afford to assume.

In view of such conditions of sentiment in Canada, with the certainty that there will be no justification for a change of fealty, and further, that such action would prove more fatal to the interests of Great Britain in the world than almost any other event that could happen, it will be seen that the possibility of annexation to the United States is, to say the least, very remote.

What therefore, under the circumstances is the best plan, by which to abate the commercial belligerency that prevails along the northern border of the United States? If the people of this country cannot conquer, cannot purchase, and cannot lure to a political alliance, the people of Canada, can a commercial bargain be made with them, by which free access can be had to their sources of enormous wealth and to the profits of a trade that their development will create?

The answer is, that nothing is easier of accomplishment than this commercial bargain. Political union is just now impossible, but a commercial union is quite within the early range of probabilities.

The question may be asked, What justification is there for the belief that the people of Canada, with their intense loyalty to England, are ready to break down the barriers of trade as far as the United States is concerned, and keep them up against all foreign nations, Great Britain included? In this connection it is important to understand that in Canada, the two parties known respectively as the Tory and Liberal parties, hold directly opposite views regarding the relation with the United States. The Tory party believes in a policy of isolation. The Liberals on the other hand have adopted as the chief plank in their platform, the principle of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. The Liberals are, moreover, prepared to demand the right of Canada to be recognized in making treaties which concern her interests; and while prepared to discriminate in favor of the United States, they are prepared to debar British goods from competition by the exaction of a duty.

In view, therefore, of the far-reaching importance which attaches to the impending general Parliamentary election in Canada, some action on the part of the United States would seem desirable, in order that moral support should be afforded to the party whose whole aim is that of friendliness to this country. Up to this point, the strongest argument which the Tory party is able to urge is, that there is no disposition on the

part of the United States towards better relations, and that the outcome of all the agitation in favor of reciprocity is the McKinley Bill. But this is not to be interpreted as the sentiment of our manufacturing and commercial classes. It seems, therefore, eminently appropriate that Congress should, early in the present session, in anticipation of the general election in Canada, pass the resolution recommended by Mr. Hitt in the House, and substantially incorporated in the proposal of Mr. Sherman in the Senate, which provides, that whenever the government of the United States is certified that the government of Canada will admit, free of duty, all the products and manufactures of the United States, the President shall appoint three commissioners to meet an equal number of commissioners appointed by the Dominion of Canada to prepare a plan for the freest exchange of products and manufactures, to be submitted to Congress for approval.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS—A SUGGESTION WITH REGARD TO THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

LINTON SATTERTHWAITE, ESQ.

*New Englander and Yale Review, New Haven, January.*

THE election of President Harrison by a minority of the popular vote, like that of Garfield before him, gave rise to loud complaints of the injustice of a system which permits the will of a majority to be overborne by a minority. It is of the nature of such complaints to increase in force and earnestness with each recurring event that calls them forth, and the close observer could easily discern, in the latest instance, augmented evidence of the demand for a change of system. This growing dissatisfaction, coupled with the proposal, now becoming familiar, for the election of our United States Senators by a popular vote, point to the drift of the public mind, that may well suggest enquiry whether our system of presidential electors is worth retaining, and if so, whether there are any means, by which the force of opinion may be directed to the preservation, rather than to the destruction, of this seemingly already antiquated institution.

The wide difference between the constitutional machinery provided by our fathers for the election of a President, and the method actually used, furnishes an example as forcible as it is conspicuous, of the utter impossibility of arresting the natural growth of political institutions by paper-enactments. The positive functions of the electors—that of choice—though existing to-day in full legal vigor, is as completely in abeyance as was the right of wager of battle before its repeal. A practical exercise by the electors of their undoubted constitutional power, would cause its destruction as speedily as did the perfectly legal demand of the English prisoner lead to the repeal of the ancient and forgotten right of testing one's innocence by fighting one's accuser. This very important part of the organic law of the land has been supplanted by a higher law—the irrepealable law of settled public opinion. By the operation of the electoral scheme, long delay in ascertaining the result is generally avoided. Exact majorities are of no moment, if only we are sure that there are clear majorities. We have only to know that certain States, having a sufficient number of electoral votes, have been carried by a certain candidate—whether by a few thousands more or less, we do not care. There is no need of complete returns, nor does it matter, whether or not the aggregate majorities of the States voting the other way approximate, or even surpass, the majorities in the electing States. This general freedom from uncertainty as to the result, is unquestionably of incalculable advantage, and is to be placed to the credit of the electoral system. True, the result may hang on the vote in an exceptionally close State, as in New York six years ago, but it is safe to say, that doubt from this cause will be less frequent, than it would be from a close vote if a popular majority decided. And when it does occur, the limits of the uncertain ground make it possible for the party organizations at once to set their whole force to watch the

count. Were it necessary to ascertain which candidate has an absolute majority or plurality, it would, in an election only ordinarily close, be weeks before the result could be positively known. And then suppose the apparent majority should be a few hundreds, or even a few thousands, and the question of this narrow margin not confined to a single State, but distributed over forty-eight States—a number we soon shall have. What temptations, what opportunities for fraud! What high-wrought passion would possess the public mind, as week after week of suspense passed by, with alternating hope and disappointment! To what a strain would our institutions be subjected, as charges and counter charges of fraud should be recklessly made, and, owing to abnormal public excitement, as readily believed!

While it is always no less important than gratifying, that a just and honest decision of the vote be rendered, in a country so vast as ours, it is of even higher importance; it is, in fact, necessary, that some decision, whether just or unjust, whether honest or dishonest, be promptly made and as promptly acquiesced in.

The advantages of our electoral system are easily overlooked, but it sometimes works an abstract injustice; and so much attention has been directed to its weak point, and so much discontent engendered, that although there is perhaps no immediate danger of the abolition of the system of Presidential electors, its future destruction is very possible.

There is no going back to the method of a century ago. Democracy has condemned it, but it is respectfully suggested that there is a possible way of utilizing the electoral system more than we do now, and that it requires neither any addition to the power of the electors, nor any impairment of the people's initiative. The departure proposed would not be great, nor the innovation startling. The proposition is, simply, to hold our nominating conventions after the electors shall have been chosen. This plan offers several advantages, foremost among which is the necessity under which it would place politicians, of conducting a campaign on some issue of principles, and the decided check it would impose on the indulgence of personalities in politics. One of the pressing needs of our national politics is real issues, fairly and unreservedly placed before the country, and, after a full and free discussion, passed upon by an intelligent constituency. So far as the personal character of officials is concerned, that, in the long-run, will always reflect the average character of the men whose political activities bring forward men to fill official positions. No possible method of selection will ever produce them better than the men who select them.

#### BOULANGISM AND THE REPUBLIC.

ADOLPHE COHN.

*Atlantic Monthly, Boston, January.*

NOW that the Boulangist adventure is entirely a thing of the past, it is worth while to see how far this strangest of all political episodes, seriously endangered the French Republic, and how it may affect its future.

When in the spring of 1888 the series of by-elections began, in which General Boulanger was destined to score success after success against the regular Republican candidates, it must be said that the French Republic was in a very unenviable position. The Wilson crisis had just brought about the compulsory resignation of M. Grévy. In addition to this, the election of 1885 had been far from showing a success for the Republican party, for although they retained a working majority, their opponents had gained fully one hundred seats. And with such revelations as those which compelled the resignation of President Grévy, was it not to be feared that the elections of 1889 might prove more disastrous still, and that the newly-elected President might have to confront an anti-Republican majority in the lower branch of the national legislature?

Just then a man appeared, surrounded by a halo of popularity,



the very genesis of which seemed an unintelligible mystery, who belonged to that profession, the army, which is still unquestionably the most popular before the masses of the French people, and who certainly was not unwilling to play the part of General Bonaparte, after his return from Egypt. When he suddenly leaped into popularity, General Boulanger was considered by every one a Republican. His entrance into the cabinet was due entirely to the influence of one of the most active of the Republican leaders, M. Clémenceau. One of Boulanger's first acts had been the punishment of an uncle of the leading monarchical pretender, the Duc d'Aumale, for a breach of discipline, and his speech in the Senate in defense of his action had the true Republican ring. It was such a novelty in the French legislature, to hear a General, a war-minister, utter such strongly Republican sentiments, that this alone might to a great extent explain the General's popularity with the Radical masses of the population of the largest cities in France.

Close students of history cannot deny that this was the most dangerous moment of the crisis. The new President had no prestige; the selfish spirit of office-seeking had fastened upon the ruling party, all that was ready to live and thrive by corruption; and, conscious of having made mistakes, the Republicans still disagreed as to what the mistakes were, and still more on what course was to be pursued in the future, in order to regain fully the confidence of the nation. What an opportunity this rise of Boulanger into notoriety seemed to present to them! This was the critical hour. Was the Republican party really made up of Republicans, or—did it consist merely of men who, for one reason or another, considered it impossible to identify themselves with any of the old monarchical parties, and were bent mainly on retaining for themselves as large a share of power as possible?

What now was the attitude of the General himself? He took great care not to offend the Republican party as a whole. He spoke against corruption; he spoke against colonial enterprises, against M. Jules Ferry. He was evidently waiting for the Republican party to take him up, to make him its leader, and insure the continuance of its tenure by the help of the popularity of the "*brav' général*."

What happened? Not a single one of the various and conflicting factions of the Republican party consented to swallow the bait. True, the General, for a while, remained popular with the Radical party, because they approved of his measures as minister of war, of his attitude towards the Orleans princes and towards the Catholic Church. What they did not consent to, was to make his black charger the emblem of their battle flag, and "*Vive Boulanger*" their battle-cry.

So soon as it became apparent that this was the price to be paid for General Boulanger's alliance, he was read out of the Republican party. The General was then compelled, either to fall back into comparative obscurity, and patiently to wait an opportunity for the display of his military talents, or else to engage in political intrigues which were sure, sooner or later, to lead to political suicide, if not to something worse.

Had the Republican party, when in danger of defeat, allowed itself to be carried back into power by the popularity of an ambitious and unscrupulous leader, the platform of the Republican party would have been Boulanger and nothing else. Every one of his steps forward to Minister of War had been taken under Republican auspices, the party could have denied him no position of authority within its power, and under its auspices he would take the final step, which meant the absorption of the Republican party in his own personality. Who can doubt what the sequel would have been? Soon the inevitable revulsion would have come, and then the monarchical opposition would have asserted itself, unstained by any contact with the adventurer; ready to welcome all those (their name would have been Legion) who turned away with disgust from a Republican party recreant to all its principles, from a leader

whose name had become synonymous with ruin and dishonor. Where would the Republic have been then?

The bait which had been offered to the Republicans and spurned by them, was offered to, and greedily seized by, the monarchical parties. Why? Herein lies the whole secret, the whole moral lesson of the Boulangist adventure. The Republicans repudiated the General because they had principles; the Royalists struck an alliance with him because they had none.

#### BEHIND THE SCENES IN PARLIAMENT.

L. J. JENNINGS, M.P.

*Contemporary Review, London, January.*

SOME persons affect to depreciate the House of Commons, and declare that it is not what it used to be, either as a "club" or as a legislative body. As a club, there is certainly little to be said for it, except that it affords opportunities for men of opposite political opinions to meet together. But when people say that it is no longer of any importance as a legislative body, it would be as well for them to explain what they mean. It is still the place where the laws of the country are made, subject, of course, to the concurrence of an assemblage supposed to be still more "august." It is the most favorite starting-point for men of ambition. If they are clever men, they sometimes get on with marvellous rapidity after they have obtained a footing in the House. There is a good deal of legal business of one kind and another which has to be done for a government, the opening is consequently much sought after by lawyers, and among these a truly loyal and "sympathetic" follower of his party chiefs is pretty sure to reap his reward.

It is also exceedingly worth the while of a railway director to obtain a seat in Parliament, as we may infer from the fact, that next to the potent legal interest, the railway interest is that which is most largely represented. But as a general rule, it may be fairly said, that members of Parliament are not actuated by considerations of personal advantage or gain, in undertaking to go through the severe labors of session after session. They hope to be able to do some little work in behalf of their fellow-countrymen. That, like many other hopes, is frequently destined to be disappointed. Few measures effect as much good as their promoters anticipated. Sometimes a great scheme, forced through the House under the most relentless party discipline, turns out to be anything but a benefit to the nation. These, however, are serious questions, and my present object is to touch only upon the surface of Parliamentary life. As regards the Minister and the majority of office holders, they like to pose as martyrs, but their labors are not as arduous as is generally supposed. The road to office is usually somewhat tortuous, but those who have once found it never want to go back. As for the private member, his work is, from first to last, fatiguing, monotonous and thankless. He has to wait about for hours and hours in order that he may assist in "keeping a House," or in expectation of a division, which, perhaps, does not take place. He must not go home to dinner without special permission; he must be prepared to do twelve hours' hard work at a stretch; he must take his orders as to when he shall come, and when he shall go, without reference to his business or other engagements. The work done in the committee-rooms is often very severe, and in the end it seems to be utterly thrown away. It is in the committee-rooms that the capacity of members, their power of grasping facts and intricate problems, their readiness of resource, are most easily tested. It is there also that members become thoroughly acquainted with each other. Many a bitter political animosity has been softened or altogether removed by the judgment formed in the committee-room. The Conservative finds that the Radical, whom he fancied to be a mere empty demagogue is, in reality, an exceedingly shrewd and sensible

man; and, what is even more, that he is thoroughly conscientious, and animated by an evident desire to do that which is right. Or the Radical discovers the same quality in the Conservative whom he hated. The true measure of a man can be taken on committee work. The fine feathers and the tinsel disappear. Even the new member, the man who is almost unknown, will be appraised at his right value, whatever it may be. The House of Commons is, indeed, always just in its estimates of men. There is no fairer body in the world before which anybody could go. If it has stamped a man as a bore or as a humbug, it is because he thoroughly deserves it. Anything like bumptiousness, or affectation of superiority, or a disposition to trade upon a reputation made out-of-doors, the House will not stand; and a good thing too. I once heard a member exclaim with a peculiarly sanctimonious air, "I stand here as a Christian," as if he were a missionary addressing a set of Pagans. There was a roar of laughter, which for a few minutes silenced our only Christian. Tartuffe is not a popular character at Westminster.

Whether or not there are any bores in the House, and on which side most of them sit, it would be a very ungracious thing for any member to attempt to decide. But it may safely be said that if there are bores, they are not all on the back benches. As for speeches, it is to be borne in mind that the House of Commons is rather *blasé* of these productions of the human intellect, and does not listen to one out of a score with any satisfaction, or even with willingness. Sometimes a new vein is struck, usually by a new man, and then the most jaded of assemblies is all attention. But, as a rule, members do not go to the House from their dinners or cigars for the purpose of hearing a speech. To a mere looker on, it does not seem that many persons really try to make what they have to say interesting. That is one reason that it is always worth while to hear Mr. Gladstone. There is a finish in his style, a dignity in his manner, which no one else can intimate even with success.

Of the mere cut-and-thrust business, a Parliament in its fourth or fifth year has generally had enough. The everlasting ding-dong of personal attack and recrimination becomes a weary business. Even a daring foray from the Irish quarter is welcomed as a relief from the tediousness of hearing the pot call the kettle black. Most of the Irishmen whose names are well-known to the public are good at these sudden raids.

The work required of a leader in the House calls for a constitution of steel and the temper of an angel, and whenever the time comes for Mr. W. H. Smith to close his career in that stormy arena, the judgment of every fair man will be that he has done well.

#### POLITICAL SOPHISMS OF THE TIMES.

CHARLES BENOIST.

*Revue Bleue, Paris, January 10.*

**A** SOPHISM is, according to Bentham, a theory destined to produce erroneous opinions. This definition is peculiarly applicable to political sophisms, the foremost among which at the present time are those relating to forms of government.

When it is asked—How many forms of government are there? the answer invariably is—Three, namely, (1) the empire (2) the constitutional kingdom, and (3) the republic; or (1) monarchy (2) aristocracy and (3) democracy; but these three distinct forms exist in our conceptions only. There is in reality no monarchy so pure that it can be described as a government vested in one person, for there is no monarchy that dispenses with ministers, counsellors, and secretaries. Even when Louis XIV., that pronounced representative of the monarchical idea, declared that the State was identical with himself, his declaration was obviously at variance with fact; for the State of which he spoke was a government administered by himself and at least one other, that is, by himself and Colbert. Similarly, there is no aristocratic government in which the power of the princes can be said to be absolutely

unlimited. On the other hand, there is no democracy in which the people do not delegate some portion of their powers to their representatives. The truth, as Mirabeau long ago pointed out is, that "in a certain sense, republics are monarchies, and, in a certain sense, monarchies are republics." There never has been, there is not, and there never will be, but one form of government, namely, a combination of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, a mixture of all the forms of government that are possible.

Again, when it is asked—What form of government is lawful? the extreme Conservative says—"Monarchy, because it is prescribed by God;" and the extreme Radical replies—"Democracy, because it emanates from the people." Both answer like political metaphysicians, and neither is right. The so-called god of the monarchist exists in hypothesis only. In the ancient Roman world, for instance, it was not God who became incarnate in emperors, but emperors who styled themselves gods; their empire was an inverted theocracy. On the other hand, the democrat's watchword, "the people," if it is not a mere abstraction, must be a synonym for "the masses," in which case a democracy may be properly described as a mobocracy which, as history shows, is one of the stages on the fatal road that leads to a dictatorship. The only lawful government is that which is established and endures. Such a government is legitimate because of its existence and its stability.

Lastly, when it is asked—What is the best form of government? one replies "monarchy" another, "aristocracy," a third "democracy;" but, again, the answers are wrong. In a pure monarchy the government would be opposed to the aristocracy and the people. A purely aristocratic government would be a government of grandees opposed to the multitude. In a pure democracy the multitude would be opposed to all above them. Any one of the three would be a government of one class against others, or of all classes against one, and, therefore the very opposite of a good government. The best government of all is the government in which both the lofty and the lowly, the great and the small have their share. Such a government may properly be termed *national* and *organic*; national, because it includes all classes in the nation, organic, because it represents every member of that organism, the body politic. There remains the question—In what proportion should the several classes of society be represented in a national organic government? The answer clearly is—The proportion should vary with the influence which the several classes exercise over the national life. Thus, when the monarchists in a nation display the greatest activity and aptitude and occupy the highest place in public estimation, the government of that nation ought to be more monarchical than aristocratic or democratic; when the aristocratic element is strongest in the national life, it should predominate in the national government also; and when the democrats form the majority of a nation, the government should be preponderantly democratic. In other words, the best—the national and organic—government is a government which is a faithful representation—a photograph—of the nation itself.

From these premises it follows that for the France of to-day, the best government would be a government of which the component elements are one-sixth monarchical, one-sixth aristocratic, and two-thirds democratic. The uncompromising monarchists would have six-sixths of monarchy; while extreme democrats, the worshipers of the divinity of Number, would similarly exclude from the composition of the ruling power whatever was not purely democratic; but a government constructed in accordance with such obviously prejudicial views, would not be modelled on the realities of national life, it would be an edifice floating in the air. These extremists refuse to take part in the government as it stands, and complain that they are driven out of it, whereas the fact is that they have exiled themselves. You ferocious democrats especially, you complain that war is made on you. The truth is, that you are treating as enemies a large portion of the French nation, who in a *national* government—the only government that can possibly live, the only government that can be, strictly speaking, termed lawful—are on the same footing with, and have the same rights as you.



## SOCIOLOGICAL.

## PATRIOTISM AND CHASTITY.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

*Westminster Review, London, January.*

THE old Latin proverb, *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, has been made to do duty once more, used as a weapon to drive Charles Stewart Parnell from public life. It is said that he has violated the seventh commandment, and has thus rendered himself unfit for a political leader. Thousands of reformers have been holding him up in their analytical tweezers during the last month for a microscopic examination of his inmost thoughts and private relations. The pulpit, the press, and the people have taken the position that patriotism and chastity are convertible virtues, uniformly found in the same man, and that the lack of one is evidence of a lack of the other.

But the business of the world has never been conducted on this line. In availing ourselves of the skill of our fellow-men in any special department, we do not ask whether they possess all the cardinal virtues. If we have a difficult case in court, we inquire for the most successful lawyer; if we have a child at death's door, we seek the most skillful physician; we ask no questions as to social life in either case, but avail ourselves of knowledge and wisdom when we need it. The *Pall Mall Gazette* originated a phrase which the press generally echoed, that, "men are not built in water-tight compartments so that they can be sound in one part and not in another." Now, the facts of life show that this is precisely the way men are built. History tells us of many men of broad culture and sympathy in all human conditions—statesmen, soldiers, scientific men and philosophers—devoted to the public good, though they violated the popular standard of morality.

If the women of England take the position that there can be no true patriotism without chastity, they will rob some of the most illustrious rulers of their own sex of any reputation for ability in public affairs. The private lives of Cleopatra of Egypt, Elizabeth of England, Catherine of Russia, were all below the popular standard of their own times; and yet the pages of history glow with their brilliant achievements as rulers of nations. Weighed in this new balance, the queens of literature would be robbed of their laurels. Emerson, one of the purest of men, dwells on the rare and beautiful sentiment that runs through George Sand's *Consuelo*, and who can deny the evidence of keen political insight, lofty ideas, and pure morality in the writings of such women as Mary Wollstonecraft, Francis Wright, and George Eliot:—and yet all these rejected the English code of morals.

We must recognize the fact that patriotism and chastity belong to different spheres of action. The former is pre-eminently a masculine virtue. Chastity, on the other hand, has in all ages been considered a feminine virtue. It is as absurd to deny patriotism to men because they lack chastity, as it would be to deny chastity to women because they lack patriotism. We are all what law, custom and public sentiment have made us, alike fragmentary, some truth and some error bound up in every human soul.

Like cyclones and earthquakes, these sudden and violent attacks on the reputation of great men seem to be governed by no law, but the caprice of the elements. There never has been any true standard of social morality, and none exists to-day. The true relation of the sexes is still an unsolved problem, that has differed in all latitudes and in all periods from the savage to civilized man.

What constitutes chastity is the vital question. Like fashion in dress, it changes with time and latitude; its definitions would be as varied as is public opinion on other subjects. The first definition of chastity Worcester gives is continence. How many reformers even will accept this? Entire continence and no marriage is chastity for the Roman Catholic priesthood.

Unlimited license in marriage is chastity for the Protestant priesthood. A family of twelve children and an invalid wife casts no shadow on those who fill the most holy offices in the church. But a healthy, happy mother and child outside the bonds of legal wedlock, though loving and beloved, are ostracised by the community as unchaste. A standard of high morality can be secured, in my opinion, not by hounding men, but by the education, elevation and emancipation of women, by training them to self-respect and virtuous independence.

The great lesson taught by the Founder of our faith is charity; without that we are but sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. Could the Divine man, now worshiped in all our holy temples, appear again on earth, at this crisis of unhappy Ireland's history, and voice the same rebuke to the Pharisees of our day, as in the past, how quickly would the pens now dipped in gall fall powerless from every hand, and the countless envenomed tongues be hushed to silence, as the nation's ear caught the stern message of charity: "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone."

MORALS AND POLITICS.—George William Curtis, *Harper's Magazine*, New York, February. The endeavor in politics or elsewhere to confound honesty and dishonesty, to excuse the most outrageous wrongs, and to level all moral distinctions by insinuating that specific crimes are to be condoned because we are all sinful, is as ludicrous as it is demoralizing. Undoubtedly public sentiment has changed within a century in regard to libertines in politics. It would be very hard to-day for a notoriously loose liver to maintain the leadership of a great political party in England, or to be elected to high office in America. It would be probably impossible at this day for a great public man to write such a pamphlet as Hamilton's "Observations," etc., and retain his ascendancy. But this probability does not show that this generation is more hypocritical than the former generations, as the refusal to allow an execution to be made a public holiday and festival, and the determination that the solemn act shall be done in sombre seclusion, do not prove the greater heartlessness and inhumanity of the age.

## DOES THE NEGRO SEEK SOCIAL EQUALITY?

THE REVEREND J. C. PRICE.

*The Forum, New York, January.*

PEOPLE argue that the friends of the Negro, and the Negroes themselves, in seeking constitutional rights, are at the same time demanding social equality. But does the Negro seek social equality? I answer unequivocally, "No," and thus free the Negro from the imputation—an insult to his growing intelligence—that he is endeavoring to reverse all history by demanding social equality through legal enactment and constitutional law.

So eminent an authority, and so representative a man, as Senator Morgan, of Alabama, in a recent discussion of the race question, seems to maintain that to concede to the Negro his civil and political rights, is to grant him social equality.

On the other hand Bishop Haygood, of Georgia—who has the respect and confidence of the North, and whose devotion to Southern interests is the pride and boast of the South—and George W. Cable, the novelist, both deny that there is any intention, or that it is possible, to legislate the Negroes into social equality with the whites.

The position, that political and civil equality carries with it social equality, is contrary to the experience of all men, and especially to that of Southern men. Prior to the war a poor white man was as much a social pariah as a free colored man. The aristocracy took no notice of the poor white as a social equal. This kind of ostracism was so universal and so cruel, that a common saying among Negro slaves, who had fairly humane masters, was—as expressed by Mr. Fortune in his "Black and White"—"I'd rudder be a niggah den a po' wite man."

Since the war there has been but little, if any, diminution of this feeling towards what is known as the "poor white trash." This class of white men have all their civil and political rights, but no one asserts that they are trying to force themselves into social equality with the dominant classes of the South. If these men, clothed with the full panoply of American citizenship, having their claims to social preferment intensified by membership in the Anglo-Saxon family, cannot compel social recognition, it is preposterous to say that a so-called alien race is forcing itself socially upon the so-called superior race; such a position implies too great a compliment to the Negro.

But, really, as we consider the facts in the case, who does seek what looks like social contact? If we glance at the colored people assembled in church, school, or hall, and observe the large percentage of white blood, we shall discover *prima facie* evidence in a double sense, that some one other than the Negro has been the seeker. If this is true, why is the Negro accused of seeking social equality whenever he demands the exercise of his civil and political rights? If a Negro lays claim to what the law of the land guarantees to him, is he seeking social equality? No; he asks only that which is his already, and which he ought not to be compelled to seek.

The Negro does not seek among other races what he does not have in his own. There is no social equality among Negroes, notwithstanding the disposition of some whites to put all Negroes in one class. Culture, moral refinement and material possessions make a difference among colored people as they do among whites. His civil and political rights are things which the Negro not only seeks, but demands. As for the social-equality question, it will take care of itself, as it has in the past. If he is left alone, the Negro will be contented with his own people.

In all the struggle against the rights of the Negro, he is not found to be an enemy to society. This is evident in the more violent, as well as in the milder, forms of opposition to him. Then who are the real disturbers of society? Edmund Burke, in "Reflections on the French Revolution," which is considered by many to be the most eloquent and masterly political treatise ever written, says: "Those who attempt by outrage and violence to deprive men of any advantage under the law, proclaim war against society."

#### THE JEW AS A WORKMAN.

DAVID F. SCHLOSS.

*Nineteenth Century, London, January.*

THE renewed outburst of persecution, by which, during the last few months, the Jewish subjects of Russia have been assailed, has aroused, in this country, feelings of the deepest indignation. In terms of no superfluous politeness we have been told not to make ourselves ridiculous but to mind our own business. But this question of the persecution of the Jews in Russia is emphatically our business. Experience has taught us that every fresh outburst of persecution in Russia is the signal for departure to our own hospitable shores of large numbers of Jews, whose existence in Russia has become, or threatens from day to day to become, absolutely one of intolerable hardship; and it seems certain that, if the persecution shall follow unchecked its relentless course, our industrial population will receive a further, and in all likelihood a somewhat numerous accession.

In the mean time the Jew is with us, a factor in our social, and above all in our industrial life, by no means devoid of special interest for the thoughtful observer. The purpose of this article is to present a faithful portrait of the Jewish workman, as he is to be found in London and other of our great cities.

These Israelites are engaged in a not very wide range of employments; many are cigar-, more are cigarette-makers; some are cutters and polishers of diamonds; others manufacture sticks for walking canes and umbrellas; Jewish cabinet

and chair makers are numerous; but the vast majority are occupied in one department or another of the clothing industry: as tailors, furriers, water-proofers and bootmakers. The fact that most of our Jewish artisans have devoted themselves to the fabrication of slop-coats, or to the inferior branches of the shoemaker's craft, appears to be due rather to the special circumstances of these people than to any idiosyncrasies characteristic of the Hebrew physique in general. Most of the Jews who have come to this country have done so in order to escape from oppression; and the persecution of centuries has left its mark upon the refugees, few of whom possess more than a very moderate degree of muscular vigor. A very large proportion of our Jewish immigrants have been men for whom any form of employment involving severe muscular exertion was impossible. A second reason determining their Hobson's choice of a calling has been the circumstance that very many of these people were almost, if not completely, devoid of proficiency in any trade. Now the only opening for a man, too weak to perform "coarse" labor, and unskilled in any craft, is to be found in those forms of manufacture, in which, as is especially the case in the clothing industries, a highly subdivided method of industry makes it possible, by allotting to the newly-arrived "greener" some fraction of the work demanding an absolute minimum of skill, to use up the waste labor, which would otherwise have to be rejected as wholly without value for the purposes of production. If these have been the considerations that originally determined the channels in which Jewish industry flowed, it must further be remembered that one great cause which has tended to keep it in these channels is the difficulty which the Jewish workman, debarred by his religion from working on the seventh day, necessarily experiences in obtaining employment, except from a master of the same persuasion.

The most serious allegation made against the Jewish workman, is his supposed willingness to work at a lower wage, and for longer hours, than the Gentile. This is true of foreign Jews of a certain class. They come to our shores without skill in any branch of industry, and in order to learn a trade are at first forced to work for their keep, and then for a few shillings a week. They are paid by the hour, and even after they have been here twenty years, they are forced to work from fourteen to eighteen hours in order to earn an income sufficient to support a family. A few years of work like this reduces the Jewish immigrant to a condition of drowsy stolidity, utterly incompatible with the maintenance of anything like a reasonable speed in working. These poor fellows, in short, begin by ruining their earning powers by overwork, and find themselves compelled, without any approach to willingness, to go on, year after year, toiling for the most beggarly pittance, during hours of the most cruel length. The difference between Jew and Gentile in this respect is, perhaps, sometimes exaggerated; still there can be no doubt that some Jewish workmen overtax their energies to an extent unparalleled among any class of Gentile workers.

That overwork stunts the physique of these Jewish artisans, blunts their faculties, and is very often responsible for disease of a severe type, is undeniable; that it so seldom kills them is indeed marvellous. The fact that it does not, like their comparative immunity from epidemic disease, is no doubt attributable to their scrupulous observance of hygienic conditions in respect of their food, and to their exemplary temperance.

The Jewish workman very strongly objects to being hustled over his work, and hates "wet shirts" quite as much as do the Gentiles. On the other hand, I should hesitate to affirm, that the average Jew is as near as many Gentiles are to the point, at which the ideal of an eight-hours day for all trades is realized as the one thing needful for the salvation of the working classes.

The chief objection to their Jewish fellow-workmen that has hitherto been taken by the leaders of the industrial classes is



the alleged incapacity of the Jews for trade combination. From this reproach, however, the Jews have, of late years, done much to redeem themselves.

The Jewish race possesses the extraordinary faculty of emerging scathless and with renewed energy from the terrible adversity under which other races degenerate. For the "greener" in the sweating den there may seem to be no hope; yet from the breast of the Jewish workman hope is never for a moment absent. For himself, the future may have nothing in store save the same joyless monotony of never ceasing toil. But upon his offspring, the Jew firmly believes a brighter day will dawn.

Obstinate optimism, invincible persistency, these are the distinguishing features of the Jew, and in no type of Jew are these characteristics so clearly defined as in the Jewish workman.

#### REFORM IN RAILROAD PASSENGER FARES.

EDMUND J. JAMES.

*Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston, January.*

IN the last four or five years a strong agitation has been going on in Germany and Austria for a change in the system of making up railroad passenger tariffs. It has resulted in a radical departure from the old methods, in the case of two great systems of railways—those in Hungary and Austria. As the movement seems destined to spread, it may be worth while to examine certain aspects of it, which may prove of interest to Americans as well as Europeans.

The agitation was begun in Germany by F. Perrot, a practical railroad-man of long experience, more than twenty years ago. In a pamphlet published in 1869, Perrot attempted to show by statistics, that the then prevailing system of making up railroad tariffs (which is the one still in force in nearly all countries) rests upon false assumptions, and that in the railway as in the postal service, distance and weight have not the importance usually attributed to them. He proposed to abolish all existing tariffs and to substitute in their place a simple system, very similar to that in force in the post office.

Perrot was not by any means the first to propose a reform in the passenger tariff. William Galt, an Englishman, as early as 1843, urged a radical reduction in railway fares; and in 1864, Raphael Brandon addressed a public letter to Gladstone on the subject of railway fare, and in 1868 he followed this up with a small pamphlet, in which he demanded the introduction of a uniform rate of threepence for third-class, and sixpence for second-class throughout the kingdom. This was possibly the occasion of Perrot's pamphlet of the following year. Similar plans were advocated in Denmark and other countries, but without producing any further apparent result than helping to keep alive and stimulate a scientific interest in the matter.

A new era was opened in the whole subject by the agitation begun in 1883-85 by Theodore Hertzka, the well-known Austrian economist. Mr. Hertzka undertook by a systematic effort to convince railroad managers in Austria, that the time had come for a decided reduction in passenger rates, and proposed a zone-tariff system as the best method of inaugurating the reform, although he called his plan a uniform, and not a zone-tariff system.

Now the zone tariff-system, is simply a system in which the unit of distance is a much larger unit than the kilometre or the mile. The unit of distance which is taken as the basis of all tariffs in the Austrian system is, generally speaking, 15 kilometres, or 9.3 English miles. In the Hungarian system, the first unit of distance is 25 kilometres, but all units after the first up to the eleventh are 15 kilometres, the eleventh and twelfth are each 25 kilometres, and the thirteenth unit includes all stations beyond the twelfth. This last rule, however, is subject to the very important modification, that if a traveler's route be through Buda-Pesth, he must first buy a ticket to that city, and then another from there to his destination. In the Austrian system, the zone increases regularly by 31 miles after the twelfth.

If we compare the Austrian rates with the rate from New York to Philadelphia, it will appear that while sixty cents is the minimum for ninety miles in Austria, \$2.50 is the minimum with us. If we add the price of 150 lbs. of baggage, the price of the Austrian ticket would be \$1.40. If we add the rate for express train, the price would be \$1.70.

Before closing, it may be worth while to consider briefly what bearing all this movement in Europe has on our own railway problems. Our system of railway fares is based on the mileage method; the system is modified in many ways by excursion, commutation tickets, etc.; but the principle remains the same. This method cannot be justified from the standpoint of "cost of service," since the costs of transportation do not increase in proportion to the mileage. It has not given us cheap fares. It has not led to what may be called a general use of the railway.

There are two points in the development of every business where the profits of the business would be the same—namely, the point of relatively small business and high profit, and that of large business and small profits on each transaction. There is no reason in the nature of business, that a man having reached the former should go to the latter. But there is a great reason, from the point of view of public interest, that he should do so. Our general economic theory takes for granted, that competition will force business along this line. The railroads are, however, for nine-tenths of their traffic without competitors. It is necessary then for the public to interfere, and compel the railways to advance along the line whither they would be driven by competition.

#### HENRY C. CAREY AND HIS SOCIAL SYSTEM.

PROFESSOR CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

*Political Science Quarterly, New York, December.*

THE economic education of Henry Charles Carey began early in his life. The son of a poor Irish emigrant, he was from his ninth year onward associated with his father in business, and was widely known to the trade as "the little bookseller." If the practice of a successful domestic economy be any preparation for a correct appreciation of political economy, the Careys gave promise of becoming economists of no mean order. Their firm was deemed the most enterprising publishing house in the country, and their success was proportional to their efforts. All the books which were selected for publication, or for re-publication, passed through the younger Carey's hands, and the most of them were read by him. This was his education. Such an education had both advantages and defects. His attentive spirit and retentive memory caused him to derive much benefit from the works that he read, but these made him superficial in a wide variety of subjects.

In 1835 Henry C. Carey retired from business with a fortune, and gave to the world an essay on the rate of wages. When he died in 1879, in his 86th year, he had written and published thirteen octavo volumes, three thousand unbound pages and manifold newspaper contributions. His first important work was *The Principles of Political Economy*, published between 1837 and 1840, an expansion of the essay on wages into three volumes. In this elaborate production he argued with all his might in favor of free trade, the non-interference of government with the affairs of the governed, and the general principle of *laissez-faire*. By 1845, however, his views underwent a profound modification. He avowed his conversion to the protectionist faith, and for the next twenty odd years his literary activity in defense of that faith was untiring. In 1858, he published, in three volumes, his *Principles of Social Science*. After Mr. Carey had deserted the guides of his youth, he ever regarded political economy as only a chapter in the volume of social science. In his *Social Science* the solid substance of his thought is condensed, from the nebulous mass of lighter book essays and newspaper polemics. In this work he rode at

a great pace his protectionist hobby. Dissertations upon population, capital, rent, or wages, were all avenues to the same goal—the national need of a protective tariff.

Was there an agitation for an international copyright law? Carey's nimble pen hastened to denounce the obliteration of national barriers and the formation of publishers' monopolies. Did the periodic recurrence of business depressions dishearten some? Carey could demonstrate that centralizing free trade was the cause, and decentralizing protection the remedy.

It should not be forgotten, however, especially by Mr. Carey's more recent followers, that he believed himself to be the consistent champion of the principles underlying a wise and healthy freedom of trade. To Carey's mind also, it must be remembered, slavery and protection were related as bane and antidote. In book and pamphlet he attacked the Southern system of degraded labor, and argued that free labor would conduce to greater wealth. "Slavery," he pleaded, "must stand or fall with free trade." His support of bi-metallism and of the remonetization of silver as the best security for a stable national currency in the United States, would not now invite ridicule as it seemed to do fifteen years ago.

Measured by results, the Carey school, and not its opponent, has achieved success in the United States. For thirty years the stone which the builders rejected has been the head of the corner. The arguments to which Carey gave form and eloquence are in the mouths of more than half the business men and farmers of the country; and, in the last Presidential campaign, the Republican party re-affirmed the extremest principles of the Carey school, including even the rancor towards England, with a violence and absoluteness that would have probably surprised Carey himself.

Penetrating through those enveloping qualities of Carey's life, which neutralized so much of his possible usefulness, and which have led so many half-cultured minds astray—his defective education, his untrained, emotional temperament, his arbitrary zeal, his over-confidence—the critical student in the future may still discern this wholesome core; an honest man in earnest, who had the strength to hope for the future of laborers and of all mankind, who had the grace to prefer the growth of a national spirit to the immediate increase of a national income, and who possessed the grace and strength combined to give the lie to that golden rule of the gospel of dollars: "It is the chief end of a State's economy to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest."

#### ON WHAT LINE MAY ALL THE ENEMIES OF THE SALOON DO BATTLE?—A SYMPOSIUM.

NO. II.—HOWARD CROSBY, D.D.

*Homiletic Review, New York, February.*

THE entire destruction of the saloon at a blow is an impossibility, simply because public opinion is overwhelmingly against such action. Whatever the reason may be, the great bulk of the community in our great cities, like New York, are decidedly opposed to a system of Prohibition. Those who see and feel the great evils of the saloon must adopt some other line of action, if they would reduce those evils. They must abandon theory and adopt the practical. They must so act as to have the majority of the citizens with them. The practical mode is to attack the evils of the saloon rather than the saloon itself. If some say that the two are synonymous, they must remember that others do not think so, and it is those others that we wish to enlist on our side. We must repress our own differences while we fight the common enemy.

Prohibition being impossible, systematic restriction is the only alternative, and in this we shall have the support of all good men, whatever their differences on theories. All such agree that there are gigantic evils in the saloons, and that they ought to be abated. If a reasonable plan is proposed, all such will gladly give it their aid.

One feature of such a plan would be reduction in the number of saloons. This would lessen the number of the temptations; and this, while it would not save the habitual drunkard, would save many an inexperienced youth. It would also put the comparatively few saloons under close police supervision. Such reduction can best be obtained by a high license fee. A fee of \$1,000 achieves this effect. In no city should a license fee be considered high at less than \$1,000. That this would make a monopoly for rich proprietors is true, as of every tax-restricted trade. It is incident to restriction, and is well worth enduring for restriction's sake.

A second feature would be entire closing of the bar-room on all holidays, and during the night from 11 P.M., until 6 A.M. This police feature would tend to preserve the peace on days when men are idle, and in the night, when danger is most rife. The closing should be absolute—no sales, no lights, no persons in the saloon.

A third feature would be heavy bonds given by both the liquor-dealer and the owner or landlord of the premises where such dangerous trade is conducted, which bonds would be a guarantee against disorder within the saloon.

A fourth feature, closely allied to the third, would be severe penalties for every infraction of the excise laws. Imprisonment for the second offense should be the penalty without any alternative, the bonds being forfeited and the convicted criminal forever estopped from receiving another license.

A fifth feature would be the complete prohibition of any side door or entrance, and of any screen, by which means the law is so constantly evaded.

A sixth feature would be the mulcting of patrolmen, roundsmen and captain of police who allowed a saloon to be open at forbidden hours.

A seventh feature would be the forbidding of any lounging about the saloon.

An eighth feature would forbid any woman or child from entering a saloon on any pretence whatever.

These provisions would meet the views of all who desire reform, and would destroy one half the evils of the saloon which now exist. The law should clearly define the difference between a saloon and a restaurant (an eating-place without a bar). To prevent a man at such a restaurant or at a hotel from having his glass of wine would be considered, the world over, as an act of tyranny, and certainly could not be endured in our country. Hotel bars should be dealt with as saloons, and subject to the same laws.

Spirituous liquors, as far more dangerous than others, should be utterly forbidden where oversight cannot be had, as on steamboats and railroad cars.

Now, if any one should say that when we have all this we have not obtained all we wish, for evils still continue, our answer is that we have taken the first step, and a great one, and the necessary step to the second one in the matter of reform. The road indicated is the only one on which progress can be made. It invites to further and further reform. It will lead public opinion in the right way, and will harmonize such opinion in all rational efforts at destroying the saloon evil.

And it is that harmony which we need. We shall never get it by insisting on Prohibition. We shall in that way only make wider and wider the separation of good men, and more thoroughly intrench the common enemy. Do any ask "What will be the second step on this line of reform?" We reply that when public sentiment is educated by the results of the first step, it will be ready to insist that *no liquor shall be drunk on the premises where it is sold*, except as above, in restaurants and hotels. This will be the end of saloons. The obnoxious idea of Prohibition will not be carried out, and the liberty to drink what a man pleases at his regular meal, and in his temporary home, will be guarded, a liberty which every American will insist upon, while at the same time the evils of the saloon will be completely destroyed under the acceptable idea of restriction.



## EDUCATION, LITERATURE, ART.

MATTHEW ARNOLD: CRITICISM OF LIFE.

W. A. APPELVARD.

*National Review, London, January.*

RATHER more than two years have now elapsed since that untimely death which we must all deplore, and during that time very much, both eulogistic and the contrary, has been written and printed concerning Matthew Arnold. Strangely enough, however, we may search all this through and through, and yet fail to find any clear and full exposition of his philosophy of existence, as it appears in his poems. Criticism seems to have been occupied almost exclusively with his work in religion, in politics, in education and in criticism itself; and thus what many of our best critics regard as his most important contribution to English literature, his poetry, has received far less attention than it merits, or than it would have received, had poetry been the only field of literature he enriched.

Let us try for a moment to place ourselves in the position of one who is reading Arnold's poetry for the first time. What will be the sensations of such an one? He will, of course, feel all the charm of Arnold's directness and force; of the supreme felicity of his epithets; of the self-constraint with which he discards all superfluous ornament, and of that unerring sense of form, which gives all that he wrote the clearness and distinctness of a Greek temple, with the moonlight gleaming full upon it. Yes, he will feel all this, but he will feel much more than this; he will feel that he is in the presence of a philosopher, whose teachings, whether the reader accept them or not, have a charm and a nobility all their own. Who can read without emotion such a passage as this?

Still doth the soul, from its lone fastness high,  
Upon our life a ruling effluence send.  
And when it fails, fight as we will, we die;  
And while it lasts we cannot wholly end!

In an age of doubt and weak convictions, an age when "no altar standeth whole," the value of such words as these cannot be overestimated. They are not only very true and excellent poetry, they are something more. They have the same effect upon the moral nature that the bracing air of the mountains has upon the physical. To those who are the victims of "the sick fatigue, the languid doubt," or who are at best

Light half-believers of their casual creeds,

what nobler incentive to purity and righteousness of life could be offered? The value of Arnold's attempts to found a new religion, or purify an old one, may be disputed, but surely none can read words like these without feeling the better for them.

Arnold has often been accused of being a pessimist; that he certainly was not; but even he, with all his Hellenic lightness of heart, and his almost childlike joy in life, could not but feel the unsatisfactoriness of our present-day existence. The fevered, spasmodic bursts of energy, the divided aims, the restlessness and discontent; the impatience of tranquil work; the inability to appreciate effort for its own sake, and to disregard the praise or censure of men; the uneasiness and depression which are the natural result; all these made Arnold look back with keenest regret to the days, when man's view of life was steadier and clearer, when his energies were less diffused, his work more solid and his life calmer. The burden of our poet's lament was the burden of Wordsworth's, when he wrote:

The world is too much with us; late and soon,  
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

How, then, are we to free ourselves from the spell? How regain that steadiness of view without which sustained work is as impossible as impartial judgment? The remedy which Arnold offers us is a two-fold one; or, as it would be perhaps more correct to say, one that may be regarded from two different points of view. We must recognize the fact that we are but units in the great sum of human life, and that, as such,

pain as well as pleasure, trouble as well as joy, are fated to be our lot; we must learn to bear all fortune without much repinings and peevish complaints, remembering that

The bleak stern hour,  
Whose severe moments  
I would annihilate,  
Is passed by others  
In warmth, light, joy.

When the accident of our outward existence seems too grievous for us to bear, we must seek refuge in the inner life: "the aids to noble life are all within." We must go to Nature with her invincible calm, her composure which nothing can disturb. We are to let Nature be our teacher, and from her example we shall learn to concentrate ourselves upon our tasks, regardless of the unrest and turmoil of the world outside us.

Closely conjoined with Arnold's love of nature, often, indeed, finding expression with it in the same poem, is the poet's sense of the restfulness of death. Indeed, he goes so far as to suggest in one poem, that in that other world beyond the grave, we may find again all those feelings which lent a tenderness and a charm to our existence here on earth. The poem I refer to is the third canto of "Switzerland;" it is too long, and depends too much for its due appreciation on the whole of which it is a part, to find quotation here. There is, however, one short poem, amongst the saddest and sweetest, and yet most hopeful, of all Arnold's poems, the "Requiescat," which does express this longing for the restful repose beyond the grave, with a tenderness and delicacy of touch which it is not easy to parallel.

I have been anxious to show how complete is the error of those who regard Arnold's poetry as unsympathetic, or even pessimistic, in its tendency. True, he had little belief in

The barren optimistic sophistries  
Of comfortable moles.

In lieu of these, he sets before us the problems of our modern life, and then, having set them before us, shows how best we may win for ourselves rest and peace, amid all their conflicting claims. The wise man is not he who, ostrich-like—withdraws his eyes from all the difficulty and danger which beset him, and cheats himself into the belief that all is well, but he who fully realizes the danger, and then in calmness of mind, sets himself to confront and overcome it; or, if that may not be, at any rate to make the struggle less arduous for those who are to come after him. And such a man was Matthew Arnold.

FROUDE'S LORD BEACONSFIELD.

*Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh, January.*

WE need hardly say this is not the life of Lord Beaconsfield for which the world has been waiting. It is a short biography of him by Mr. Froude, the first of a series which is to include the whole list of nine Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria, whether living or dead. There is very little in it which is new, and that little is of no great interest or importance, as affecting the life of Disraeli. At the same time we do not wish to undervalue the sketch. It is ably and conscientiously done, and its author, with his devotion to all things Carlylese, has evidently taken the Life of Sterling for his model. We should say it is the work of a man who has had considerable and life-long prejudices, derived from Carlyle, against the subject of his memoir, but who, as he warmed to his work, has gained greater insight into Disraeli's marvellous career, and into the finer points of his character, and has striven in a spirit of posthumous justice to do honor to his memory. It is satisfactory to see how, as the clouds of contemporary detraction and vituperation roll away, his career and character during his long parliamentary leadership, vindicate to the eyes of posterity the confidence which the sovereign, Parliament, and the nation eventually reposed in him, and the devotion which his colleagues uniformly paid to him.

Disraeli's literary position was made, and he was already a prominent politician, when he entered the House of Commons

in 1837. Not long after his entrance into Parliament, a fortunate marriage rescued him from financial embarrassment, and after the catastrophe of self-love in his maiden speech, he soon made solid progress in the estimation of the House, and acquired that intimate knowledge of its temper and disposition, which was the foundation of his fortune.

For thirty-five eventful years Disraeli led the Tory party—the longest political leadership recorded in parliamentary history. On this period Mr. Froude is unable to throw any new light, and declines to follow Disraeli's actions with minuteness. This, in fact, can only be done, after the papers confided to Lord Rowton shall have seen the light.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of that personal ascendancy, which Disraeli derived from his genius of insight into surrounding circumstances and their probable consequences, independently of the numerical weight of his parliamentary following, was our non-intervention in the American Civil War. Had we taken part in it, we should have roused a feeling of rancor and animosity, which it would have taken generations to quell. The Emperor of the French invited us to join in recognizing the South and breaking the blockade. The Tory party, as a rule, were in favor of the South. Lord Palmerston, with a good many of his colleagues—notably Mr. Gladstone, with his genius for political blundering—was notoriously willing to take action. A word from Disraeli would have turned the scale and given an overwhelming majority in favor of intervention. It must be remembered, to the credit of Disraeli, that that word was never spoken. He advised and insisted that the Americans must be left to shape their own fortunes in their own way.

The Palmerston Cabinet blundered into letting the Alabama escape, and Mr. Gladstone's speech in support of Jefferson Davis rankled for years in the minds of the Americans. When retribution overtook Mr. Gladstone as Premier, in the shape of increasingly urgent demands for compensation from the other side of the Atlantic, it was to the wise and patriotic support of the leader of the opposition, that Mr. Gladstone was indebted for being extricated without a war, from trouble which he had mainly brought upon himself by his rash meddling and muddling. Not merely was moral support given to Mr. Gladstone in Parliament, but one of Disraeli's most important colleagues, Sir Stafford Northcote, was associated with Mr. Gladstone's own envoys in the work of pacification, obviously for the purpose of strengthening his hands and assuring him beforehand of a free course, unfettered by the risk of parliamentary censure.

The Reform Act of 1867, was Disraeli's foremost achievement in legislation. The principle of payment of rates being the qualification for voting was his own, and in the details of the measure he defeated the opposition by large majorities. What the essential results of these democratic measures may be (the Act of 1867 was followed in 1884 by applying Disraeli's principle to the counties) no one can foretell.

Our position is totally different from the state of things in America. There, power is divided and sub-divided among institutions which all act as checks upon one another, and under penalty of their acts being declared null and void, if they exceed their powers. Here, absolute and unlimited power is vested in the constituencies and in the majority of their representatives. There is no limit to the power of Parliament in this country; and the Cabinet, which is practically a committee of that majority, wields a more absolute authority than is reposed in an American President, Senate and House of Representatives all put together.

As the result of a long career of constant struggle amid jealousies, animosities, and fierce, personal and political rivalry, it is no small thing to obtain from a somewhat critical and adverse biographer such a judgment as Mr. Froude passes upon Disraeli:

"In public or private he had never done a dishonorable action, he had disarmed hatred, and never lost a personal friend. The greatest of his antagonists admitted that when he struck hardest he had not struck in malice. A still higher praise belongs to himself alone—that he never struck a small man."

## THE EMPEROR WILLIAM II. AND HIS VIEWS ON EDUCATIONAL REFORM.

G. VALBERT.

*Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, January 1.*

**M**OST young sovereigns, when they begin to reign, are retiring and diffident; they feel their way; but William II. is an exception to the rule. His tone has from the first been one of decision. Convinced that in the new German Empire the Emperor is the first of all institutions, the centre from which all influence radiates, he found on his accession that a minister of high political stature had placed himself between the throne and the nation, and thus concealed the Sovereign from his subjects. He at once put an end to this abnormal state of things. He dismissed the grand vizier, Bismarck. In his eagerness to exhibit himself, he then proceeded to put away one by one all the other men of mark by whom he was surrounded.

William II. has not only resolved to take the government of the Empire in his own hands. He has decided in advance what the character of that government is to be. Believing that this is an age of transition in which many reforms are necessary, he has taken steps to reform everything—military tactics, society, dress, etiquette, language, the stage, and—public education. Last month he called together at Berlin a grand commission, composed not only of professional teachers, but of members of parliaments, high officials, publicists, great manufacturers, and dignitaries of the church, to consider the question of lower class education; and at their first meeting, which took place on the 4th December, he appeared before them in the uniform of a hussar, and, with his hand on the hilt of his sabre, explained to them what his programme was.

Whatever the thoughtless may say of it, the programme is a perfectly original one. Everything in it—the truths as well as the fallacies—bears the stamp of a King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany, who in talking of public education was thinking of himself, was looking upon the youth of the country as a means of accomplishing his own designs—as an *instrumentum regni*.

Among other complaints, the Emperor urged that overstudy was affecting the eyesight of the majority of youths, and that men whose vision was impaired were useless for the defense of the country, for which he needed soldiers. He complained, moreover, that the education was classical and mediæval rather than national, and was calculated to produce not young Germans, but young Greeks and Romans. Another of his chief objections to the present system is, that in the common schools the pupils are taught nothing of the history and the wars of their own country; and the principal feature of the reform in teaching he proposes to make, is the substitution of what he regards as the useful for the merely curious or interesting. Above all he thinks that politics should be taught in colleges. "The Empire has been constructed," said he; "we have what we were wishing for. The school ought now to guide the youth of the country and make them understand, that the new form of State has been brought into existence in order that it may be maintained. On this point nothing has been done, and, consequently, although the Empire has existed for only a short time, certain centrifugal tendencies have already been developed in it." In other words, what the Emperor means to say is, that the only useful knowledge is that which is necessary to the maintenance of the German Empire. What he aims at as the final object of teaching, is not the production of thinkers, but the multiplication of specimens of the "good young German," the complacent, docile, respectful, dutiful young man, contented with himself and with his Emperor. He would educate the youth of Germany not for their sakes but for his own; and if he succeed in carrying out his wishes, his educational reform will be a masterpiece of political utilitarianism.



## SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSIAN POETRY.

JAMES BUCKHAM.

*Poet-Lore, Philadelphia, January.*

FROM the physical conditions of Persian life, the languorous, soft climate, dreamy skies, and richly productive soil; from the structure of the Persian language; from the popular temperament and tendency of thought, one would expect the evolution of a literature rich in imagery, Oriental in coloring, diffuse and even extravagant in form, and sensuous in expression: a literature in which poetry should be predominant, and should permeate religion, philosophy, and history. And this is what the student finds. Every form of writing among this people is clothed in the language of imagination. Persian history and philosophy masquerade in metaphor, and Persian ethics are reinforced by hyperbole.

The every-day life and language of the people are instinct with the poetic spirit. The most familiar objects, the most commonplace associations are suffused by the tropical glow of the Oriental imagination. And yet it is a remarkable fact, that with all this poetical susceptibility among the people, and with its long history as a background, Persia has produced comparatively few poets—certainly few who are considered worthy of a place in the oral anthologies of the nation; for among the people you seldom hear quoted any save the few famous poets of comparatively modern times: Jámi, Hafiz, Sadi, and Jelálud-din. Where a whole people are a nation of poets, mediocre talent must find little recognition or reward.

The poets mentioned are comparatively modern; and it should be remembered that the original of Persian poetry, like that of all other national literatures, dates back to the age of the metrical chroniclers and early balladists. The greatest of the former in Persia—perhaps the man who most deserves, in a certain sense, to be called Persia's national poet—was Firdausi (born about 940 A. D.), who was commissioned by Mahmud of Ghazni to form a connected series of heroic poems on the ancient history of Persia. This labor, covering nearly the whole life of the poet, resulted in the immense "Sháhnámeh," or "King-book," which bears the same relation to Persia's literature as the Metrical Chronicles and legends of Arthur bear to England's.

All the greatest Persian poets have been Sufis; and this leads us to a momentary glance at Sufism. This religious movement rose in the desire of the more profoundly thoughtful and religious minds in Persia, for a purer and more spiritual creed than that embodied in the canon of Mohammedanism. Although not discarding the Koran, the Sufis so expanded and spiritualized its teachings, as to evolve from them, practically, a new religion. The Koran appeals simply as authority to the human will. Sufism appeals to the reason and the spiritual consciousness of man. While professing still to reverence the Koran as a divine revelation, it in reality substitutes for it the less gross and materialistic conceptions and doctrines of a mystical philosophy. In its ultimate analysis it teaches an exalted pantheism, the doctrine that God is immanent in all creation, in every atom of matter, and in every collection of atoms. The soul of man is a part of this divine essence, this universal God-life, which has been for some reason exiled from God, and this earthly existence is its period of banishment. The Sufi philosophy aims to so guide and educate and discipline the soul, that it shall soonest reach the goal of perfect union with the divine life. In music, poetry, and all the fine arts the human soul finds an imperfect, but natural, medium of expression for its longings and aspirations, as it journeys back to the bosom of God.

But language is inadequate to express these longings. It can never be more than symbolic. Hence the mystical, metaphorical, and figurative character of all Sufi poetry, which never means literally what the language seems to convey. This prepares us to understand the imagery of the great Sufi poets. In reading Hafiz, particularly, we should bear in mind that the sensuous,

not to say licentious, passages in his writings, are intended by the poet to express spiritual truths too profound to be conveyed in any other way than by symbolic shadow-pictures.

Persian poetry is full of gems of truth; and especially does it abound in rich and beautiful allegory. As one among many "Orient pearls at random strung," we close this article with this exquisite fable from Professor Eastwick's translation of the "Gulistán" (rose-garden) of Sadi:

"I saw some handfuls of the rose in bloom,  
With bands of grass suspended from a dome.  
I said, 'What means this worthless grass, that it  
Should in the rose's fairy circle sit?'  
Then wept the grass, and said: 'Be still! and know  
The kind their old associates ne'er forego.  
Mine is no beauty, hue, or fragrance, true!  
But in the garden of my Lord I grew.'"

## SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIES  
SINCE COLUMBUS.

## III. IRON SMELTING BY MODERN METHODS.

WILLIAM F. DURFEE, ENGINEER.

*Popular Science Monthly, New York, February.*

THUS far these papers have dealt only with iron smelted by charcoal. Up to 1830, there had been no attempt whatever to utilize either anthracite or bituminous coal for the purpose.

From 1830 to 1840, there were a number of attempts to use mineral coal for the smelting of iron ores, the most successful being at Pottsville, Pa., at the Pioneer Furnace. This furnace was successfully "blown in" by Benjamin Perry, October 19, 1839, and produced twenty-eight tons per week of good foundry iron. "This furnace," says Bishop, "made a continuous blast for ninety days, and secured for its proprietor a premium of \$5,000, which had been subscribed by the citizens of the State." On July 9, 1839, David Thomas, from Yniscedwin, Wales, began, at Catasauqua, Pa., the erection of the first furnace of the Lehigh Crane Iron Company. This furnace was successfully blown in on July 3, 1840, and the first "cast" was made July 4. The furnace was provided with a hot blast, blown by water-power derived from the Lehigh Canal. It produced fifty tons of good foundry iron per week, and may be fairly considered the first furnace to clearly point out the essential requisites for the successful smelting of iron with anthracite coal—viz., large capacity of furnace, supplied with an abundant blast of air heated to a high temperature—and the first also to achieve commercial success in that line. Mr. Thomas, who died at Catasauqua June 20, 1882, may be justly called the father of the anthracite iron industry of America.

Mr. Thomas's first furnace was about forty feet square at the base and forty feet high. The blast was heated by three "hot-blast stoves," fired with coal, and blown by two cylinders five feet in diameter and six feet stroke. By the addition of a second water-wheel the pressure of the blast was raised to two pounds and a half per square inch. Various changes and improvements followed the successful operation of this furnace; and year by year the volume of iron smelted by mineral fuel increased, until, in 1889, it reached the grand total of 7,871,779 tons, while the "make" of the charcoal furnaces amounted to but 644,300 tons.

The first furnace in America built with the intention of using raw bituminous coal as fuel was erected in 1845 at Lowell, O., and was successfully blown in with raw coal, August 8, 1846, by John Crowther, an Englishman, who had been the manager of seven furnaces in Staffordshire.

Coke is the fuel by which over one-half of the pig-iron made in America at the present time is smelted. According to Overman, the Lonaconing furnace, Alleghany Co., Md., was the first

(in 1837) to make successful use of it in this country. In 1840, two large blast-furnaces using coke were built at Mount Savage, Md. All the coke used in the above furnaces was made in pits. The manufacture of "Connellsville coke," which is regarded as especially excellent for smelting iron, was commenced in 1841.

The Clinton Furnace, Pittsburgh, was the first to use Connellsville coke with success. This furnace, which I visited in January, 1863, was simply a jacket of boiler iron lined with fire-brick. It was fifty feet high and twelve feet "bosh." The make was twenty tons in twenty-four hours. Since the date of the erection of this, then the only blast-furnace in Allegheny Co., (in which Pittsburgh is situated) Pa., there have been built within its territory twenty-four coke furnaces, which made, in 1889, more than one seventh of the country's total production of pig-iron. The size and output of individual furnaces have also been greatly augmented. Furnace "F," of the Edgar Thomson Steel Works, is eighty feet high, twenty-two feet diameter at the boshes, and has a capacity of 18,000 cubic feet. It produces 10,603 gross tons of iron per month (351 tons daily) on a fuel consumption of 1,765 pounds (coke) per gross ton. The pressure of blast at the *tuyères* is nine pounds per square inch and its volume 25,000 cubic feet per minute, heated to 1200° Fahrenheit.

Meantime the makers of "anthracite iron" in the Lehigh, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna Valleys were by no means idle. Their furnaces also increased in size and multiplied in numbers as the years passed. The town of Catasauqua is an illustration of this progress. Where in 1840 was but the single furnace, heretofore mentioned, a small number of scattered houses, and a few score of people, we now find five furnaces, two rolling-mills, and a number of collateral industrial establishments, giving sustenance to a large and busy population. The original furnace made in the year ending July 1, 1841, 2,460 tons. The present plant (five furnaces) produced during the year ending July 1, 1890, 111,828 tons.

The production of pig iron in the United States for the year ending June 30, 1890, was the largest in the history of the country, and larger than that of any other nation in the world, being 258,216 tons in excess of the production of Great Britain in 1889. The following table exhibits the rate of increase of production of pig-iron during the past twenty years:

DISTRICTS.	TONS OF 2,000 POUNDS.		
	Year Ending May 31, 1870.	Year Ending May 31, 1880.	Year Ending June 31, 1890.
New England States.....	34,471	30,057	33,781
Middle States.....	1,311,649	2,401,093	5,216,591
Southern States.....	184,540	350,436	1,780,909
Western States.....	522,161	995,335	2,522,351
Far Western States.....	.....	3,200	26,147
Totals.....	2,052,821	3,781,021	9,579,779

Thus we see that the manufacture of pigiron in New England has been practically stationary for the past twenty years, while in the Middle States it has nearly quadrupled, in the Western it has increased nearly five times, and in the Southern States nearly ten times in the same period.

Few persons are aware of the enormous and insatiable appetite of one of the largest blast furnaces. It is only when the total daily amount of materials is considered that the tremendous igneous activities constantly at work in that combination of hurricane and volcano—a modern blast furnace of the first class—can be fully appreciated. Such a furnace will have passed through it in twenty-four hours the following materials:

Ore.....	1,263,360 pounds or	564 gross tons.
Coke.....	990,384 " "	442 " "
Limestone.....	353,741 " "	158 " "
Atmospheric air (blast).....	2,331,840 " "	1,041 " "
Totals.....	4,939,325	2,205

which is equal to 92 tons per hour, or 1.53 tons per minute. From this quantity of materials will be produced in twenty-four hours 784,000, or 350 gross tons of pig iron, which is at the rate of 32,666 pounds per hour, or 544 pounds per minute.

Heating the 25,000 cubic feet of air supplied per minute to a temperature of 1,200° Fahrenheit, its volume would be increased to 85,000 cubic feet; and on the supposition that the furnace is blown by seven *tuyères*, each seven inches in diameter, this torrid air would rush through each *tuyère* (under a pressure of nine pounds per square inch) at the rate of 12,143 cubic feet, and with the enormous lineal velocity of 45,417 feet per minute. This velocity is over five times that of the most violent tornado, and the pressure more than twenty-five times as great.

#### A NEW ROUTE TO THE NORTH POLE.

*Ueber Land und Meer, Stuttgart, January 7.*

**D**URING the last forty years, numerous and strenuous efforts have been made to reach the North Pole, but in vain. The English expedition under Nares, which pushed through Smith's Sound along the west coast of Greenland, penetrated to 83° 20' N. Lat. Again, in 1876 the American expedition under Greely pushed a quarter of a degree further, but all efforts at further progress were in vain. This route, to which Kane originally drew attention, offers no encouragement to further research. In the region between East Greenland and Spitzbergen, all efforts have been similarly fruitless. The poorest record was made by the German expedition under Koldewey, although in 1827 the Englishman Parry penetrated to 82° 45' N. Lat., and might have reached the Pole, had not the ice-fields which he sought to traverse by sleighs, been moving southward. Further eastward, the Austrians under Payer and Weyprecht endeavored to reach the Pole by way of Nova Zembla, but soon found that nothing was to be achieved in this direction. Imprisoned in floating ice, their ship with its crew became the sport of ocean currents which wafted them within sight of a group of islands, since known as Franz Josef's Land. In 1879 De Long with the "Jeanette" pushed into the unknown Polar Sea from Bering's Straits, not with any intention of trying to reach the Pole, but with the object of carrying succour to the long missing Nordenskjöld. The "Jeanette" expedition, too, was ill-fated, indeed one may say it was ruled by an especially evil star, for the greater part of its brave crew were lost in the dismal ice-wilderness. The inducements to further Polar research would thus appear to be by no means attractive. The chances are all against success from the start. Nevertheless, De Nansen, the same who successfully accomplished the task of traversing the ice wastes of Greenland from shore to shore, has expressed his intention of engaging in another Polar expedition, relying on the existence of a continuous ocean current. In the year 1884, a very remarkable find was made at Julianehaah on the west coast of Greenland. An ice sheet drifted ashore, bearing a pair of sailor's waterproof overalls, marked with the name of one of the "Jeanette's" crew who was lost on the north coast of Siberia. From this Nansen infers the existence of a powerful ocean current flowing from the islands of the Siberian ocean towards and across the Pole to the west coast of Greenland. He concludes, too, that by this route there must be an expanse of open water, and plans his expedition, in reliance on being drifted to and across the Pole by this same current. He is convinced that, leaving the Siberian islands, he will have to encounter formidable icebergs at the outset, and to meet this difficulty he has designed a vessel of peculiar construction, which would not be very easily crushed in the ice, but on the contrary would be raised to the top of it. The danger of these ice barriers surmounted, Nansen deems the game already won; as for the rest of the course he would be drifted by the current through an open sea, comparatively free from ice.

The plan of the bold Scandinavian is not without promise, but unfortunately, in Polar expeditions, chance plays so important and oftentimes so decisive a roll, that little confidence can be placed on theoretic conclusions. Nevertheless, Nansen has already achieved the supposed hopeless task of traversing Greenland; he is an authority in Arctic matters, a man of decision, and a man, moreover, endowed with an iron constitution, so essential for the investigator of the dreary Polar region; and if, as may be expected, the proposed expedition shall be organized, we may look forward to very interesting results.



## THE CENTENARY OF THE MICROSCOPE.

ERNESTO MANCINI.

*Nuova Antologia, Rome, December.*

IT is generally thought that the invention of the microscope goes back to the close of the fifteenth century, or, to be more precise, to the year 1590, when in the city of Middleburg, in Holland, two spectacle-makers, named Janssen, invented both the telescope and the microscope. This date for the invention, according to which its third centenary would arrive in 1890, does not rest on authentic documents, but is based on assertions published in 1665 by the physician Peter Borel. He denied that Galileo, Drebbel, and others, deserved the credit of having invented the telescope; and in order to demonstrate that the invention of that instrument, as well as of the microscope, was due to the Janssens, produced some documents which showed that the two spectacle-makers, having invented the telescope in 1590, presented a specimen of it to Prince Maurice, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, and to the Archduke Albert. Later on, however, the telescope of Prince Maurice became a microscope, in a letter of William Borelli, who declared that he had always heard in Middleburg, his native city, that the Janssens had invented these optical instruments, and further that, when he was ambassador at London, in 1619, he had seen in the hands of Drebbel the identical microscope that the Janssens had presented to Prince Maurice.

Professor Govi, however, in a work which demonstrates the excellence of his judgment and his vast erudition, has collected a series of documents, which not only seem to restore the merit of the invention of the microscope to Galileo, but show the various vicissitudes of the discovery itself. The first hint of the transformation of the Holland telescope into a microscope is found in a little book published in 1610 by Wodderborn, a pupil of Galileo. Speaking of the wonderful qualities of the telescope, Wodderborn adds, in praise of Galileo, that "with the instrument could be perfectly distinguished the organs of motion and sensibility in the smallest animalcules," so that the particular formation of multiplied eyes in very small animals could be perceived. This new application of the telescope by himself Galileo did not deny, though he never directly affirmed it. In the National Library at Paris is preserved a letter by Canon Tarde, in which he speaks of visiting Galileo in Florence, in 1614, when the latter was sick in bed. Notwithstanding, to Tarde Galileo gave ample explanation of a microscope then in his possession.

Whether the invention of the simple microscope be due to Janssen or Galileo, to Drebbel is due the merit of having produced, at Rome, in 1624, the compound microscope. The difference between the two hardly needs explanation. The simple microscope magnifies with a single lens, or with several lenses so close together that they act like a single lens. The compound microscope has two or more lenses, separated by a convenient distance from each other, and which act separately. In 1669, Eustachio Divini constructed a colossal microscope which magnified 140 times. A little after, Bonannus invented a horizontal microscope which magnified 300 times.

In the seventeenth century were laid the foundations of micrography, a science which, by the study of the minute anatomical elements and their functions, has made such great progress under the name of histology, and been such a fertile cause of important discoveries. With the microscope, Malpighi, by the minute examination of the tissues, confirmed the theories about them he had previously formed; Leuwenhoek discovered the globules of the blood and the structure of the nervous fibres; and Swammerdam dissected insects, of the most minute organs of which he gave descriptions still considered perfect.

In the eighteenth century, observes Henocque, but few modifications were made in the microscope. To mention all the improvements made in the instrument during our century

would be tedious. During the last forty years enormous advances have been made in science by the aid of the microscope, of which the usefulness has been greatly increased by the skill with which the matter to be examined is prepared, and by the aid of photography. Microphotography dates from 1840 only; but since that date it has had an uninterrupted series of noteworthy improvements.

Besides histology, created by the microscope, by which our acquaintance with the most hidden structure of organisms is constantly increasing, bacteriology, with its rapid succession of discoveries of the highest importance, owes its existence to the microscope. Those little beings, those micro-organisms, which, by the change of the medium in which their evolution is effected, can produce so much good or so much evil, and of which it takes several millions to occupy the tenth part of half an inch in space, can now be identified according to their species, notwithstanding their changeable aspect. We can estimate the rapidity of multiplication, the number, the dimensions, and the singular manner in which by dividing themselves, or by means of a sort of buds or spores, the micro-organisms reproduce themselves.

In the examination of the inorganic world the microscope has had results not less precious. The wonderful phenomena of crystallization, the exact form of the crystals, the more precise in proportion to their minuteness, the modifying properties of the light called forth by the thinnest layer of a mineral, the interior texture of rocks, all these can be studied with a precision impossible before the invention of the improved microscope. And finally, not to mention all the triumphs achieved by the instrument, it has had an application which formerly would have seemed paradoxical, since the microscope has been employed to show the particulars of the nature of the surface of the planets, particulars which have been made clear by microscopic observations of instantaneous photographs.

## MORALS IN HISTORY.

PROFESSOR FR. JODL, OF PRAGUE.

*International Journal of Ethics, Philadelphia, January.*

## PART FIRST.

OF all the speculative sciences, ethics has, perhaps, had the most difficult fight against the disadvantage of necessarily changeable tendencies of thought. Morality, it is said by some, is a product of the undeveloped art of life of former centuries. Morality, others have said, is not a dynamic, but only a static element in human society. Its essential elements have remained the same for centuries. Also its efficiency has remained the same, as is seen by the endlessly-repeated complaints of moralists about the corruption of the world and the depravity of man.

With a different application, and for different ends, the representatives of the Church's doctrine of the universe are heard to express a similar thought—that Christian morality cannot be improved upon, and that man is incapable of living up to the Christian ideal. If, with the former critics, the practical significance of morality, and of its scientific formulation, ethics, is depreciated in order to favor natural science and political economy, by the latter critics the same thing is done, in order to favor ecclesiastical doctrine and biblical tradition. That stability which, on the one side, is brought forward as an objection to morality, and on account of which it is not counted among the moving forces of the world's history, is claimed by the other side as the special excellence of ecclesiastical and religious ethics; and over against this stability are held up the fluctuations of moral opinions, the confusing diversity of standards, and the uncertainty of all principles based on them. No morality—so it is preached on this side—no morality without authority.

What first strikes us in these criticisms, is a problem which has occupied ethical investigation to a considerable degree; and

for a long time has vexed it. When philosophical reflection first attempted to fix the contents of the moral consciousness in conceptions, one thing appeared, by the very contents of this consciousness, unavoidably required: moral principles must be thought of as secure against the arbitrariness of the individual, as inviolable, emanating from a higher will, founded in the nature of things and of men, unchangeable. To-day, we easily penetrate both what was correctly conceived in this thought, and also the optical illusion that accompanied it.

That the moral standard by no means arises from the mere wish of the individual, that within it is announced a deliberate will, a power which bends the individual, while at the same time it seeks to lift him up, is also for us a psychological fact, which must be explained, but which we dare not explain away.

The independence of moral principles, however, as regards the will of the individual, has nothing at all in common with their unchangeableness. A glance at the history of morals, as it to-day lies widely extended before us, shows us the solution of the riddle; it reveals independence and changeableness always and everywhere side by side. So far as we are acquainted with men in social community, the will of the community speaks to the individual concerning his practical conduct with authority—authority of the family, of the teachers, of public opinion, of priests, of judges; finally, as an inner appropriation of the will of these authorities, the authority of conscience, of practical reason, which naturally exists only in the individual, but through friction with the community becomes filled with a universally valid content. Every human being, who is born into an organized community, finds in it a common will, and that certain practical standards were already completed in it; he has not made them, he has not been asked whether he would give his assent to them; he is told: "It has always been so, it shall be so in the future;" and, if he seeks to change things, he will everywhere strike hard against the surrounding will, which is stronger than his own. The commands often seem to the individual to be without any reason, to be mere authority, to be a hard fact, to which one must adapt one's self. The origin of these commands is lost in the mysterious darkness of primitive times, or of Divine revelation; continuous development has covered over that origin.

Here is the cause of that optical illusion of which I spoke. What the individual has not seen come into existence seems to him to have existed without a beginning, and that over which no power is granted to him, seems unchangeable. It is science which first extends the individual's circle of experience. The study of history does for him in sociology, what the telescope and microscope do in natural science. The conscience of the individual exhibits the moral standard as unchangeable and without beginning; historical investigation shows that standard shifting and advancing continually along with the change of generations and civilizations. It is here as in other departments of knowledge.

Morality is a product of evolution. But all evolution—so teaches biology—is adaptation of the organic individual to the changed conditions of its environment. The sum of the ethical principles or ideals which at any time are current in any nation, presents nothing else, therefore, than the conception of all that is reciprocally required in a practical direction of its members, for the advantage and profit of the community and the individual persons in it. The requirements of social adaptation are raised into the consciousness of the community. When the conception of what is reciprocally required changes, then the sum of the ethical principle changes also. The notion of the absolute immutability of morality is equally erroneous with the opposite notion, represented in all times by scepticism, that overlooks the constant features in morality in attending to its variable elements. Neither notion can stand the test of a severe biological experiment. Both notions owe their origin to an essentially unhistorical method.

From this point we may pass in a second paper to another question, whether there is progress in morality.

## THE ARCHITECTURE OF THEORIES.

CHARLES S. PEIRCE.

*The Monist, Chicago, January.*

OF the fifty or hundred systems of philosophy that have been advanced at different times of the world's history, perhaps the larger number have been not so much results of historical evolution, as happy thoughts which have accidentally occurred to their author. An idea which has been found interesting and fruitful, has been adopted, developed, and forced to yield explanations of all sorts of phenomena. The English have been particularly given to this way of philosophizing; witness Hobbes, Hartley, Berkeley, James Mill. Nor has it been by any means useless labor; it shows us what the true nature and value of the ideas developed are, and in that way affords serviceable material for philosophy. The remaining systems of philosophy have been of the nature of reforms, sometimes amounting to radical revolutions, suggested by certain difficulties found to beset systems previously in vogue; and such ought certainly to be in large part the motive of any sane theory. This is like partially rebuilding a house.

When a man is about to build a house, what a power of thinking he has to do before he can safely break ground; and I think we may safely say, that the studies, preliminary to the construction of a great theory, should be at least as deliberate and thorough, as those that are preliminary to the building of a dwelling-house.

That systems ought to be constructed architectonically has been preached since Kant, but I do not think the full import of the maxim has been by any means apprehended. What I would recommend is, that every person who wishes to form an opinion about fundamental problems, should first of all make a complete survey of the field of human knowledge, should take note of all the valuable ideas in each branch of science, should observe just in what respect each has been successful, and where it has failed, in order that in the light of the thorough acquaintance so attained of the available materials for a philosophic theory and of the nature and strength of each, he may proceed to the study of what the problem of philosophy consists in, and of the proper way of solving it. The chief point is to make a systematic study of the conceptions, out of which a philosophic theory may be built, in order to ascertain what place each conception may fitly occupy in such a theory, and to what uses it is adapted.

Take for example dynamics\*—field in our day of, perhaps, man's grandest conquest in the realms of science—I mean the law of the conservation of energy. But let us revert to the first step taken by modern scientific thought—and a great stride it was—the inauguration of dynamics by Galileo. A modern physicist on examining Galileo's works is surprised to find how little experiment had to do with the establishment of the foundations of mechanics. His principal appeal is to common-sense and *il lume naturale*. He always assumes that the true theory will be found a simple and natural one. And we can see why it should indeed be so in dynamics. For instance, a body left to its own inertia, moves in a straight line, and a straight line appears to us the simplest of curves; not that it is more simple than other curves, but because, as Euclid says, it lies evenly between its extremities; that is because viewed endwise, it appears as a point. That is again, because light moves in straight lines. Now, light moves in straight lines, because of the part which the straight line plays in the laws of dynamics. Thus it is that our minds having been formed under the influence of phenomena governed by the laws of mechanics, certain conceptions entering into those laws become implanted in our minds, so that we readily guess at what the laws are.

Without such a natural prompting, having to search blindfold for a law which would suit the phenomena, our chance of

\* In the original article, the author's position is illustrated by reference to several departments of science.



finding it would be about as one to infinity. The further physical studies depart from phenomena which have directly influenced the growth of the mind, the less we can expect to find the laws which govern them "simple," that is, composed of a few conceptions natural to our minds.

Now the only possible way of accounting for the laws of nature and for uniformity in general, is to suppose them results of evolution. This supposes them not to be absolute, not to be obeyed precisely. It makes an element of indeterminacy, spontaneity, or absolute chance in nature. Mr. Clarence King's theory that species are unmodified or scarcely modified under ordinary circumstances, but are rapidly altered after cataclysms, or geological changes, suggests a mode of evolution that seems to be called for by some of the broadest and most important facts of biology and paleontology; while it certainly has been the chief factor in the historical evolution of institutions as in that of ideas, and cannot possibly be refused a very prominent place in the evolution of the universe in general.

Such are the materials out of which chiefly a philosophical theory ought to be built, in order to represent the state of knowledge to which the nineteenth century has brought us. Without going into other important questions of philosophic architectonic, we can readily foresee what sort of a metaphysics would appropriately be constructed from these conceptions. Like some of the most ancient, and some of the most recent speculations, it would be a Cosmogonic Philosophy. It would suppose that in the beginning—ininitely remote—there was a chaos of unpersonalised feeling, which, being without connection or regularity, would properly be without existence. This feeling, sporting here and there in pure arbitrariness, would have started the germ of a generalising tendency. Its other sportings would be evanescent, but this would have a growing virtue. Thus the tendency to habit would be started; and from this with the other principles of evolution, all the regularities of the universe would be evolved. At any time, however, an element of pure chance survives, and will remain, until the world becomes an absolutely perfect, rational and symmetrical system, in which mind is at last crystallized, in the infinitely distant future.

#### AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY.

EDITORIAL.

*Grenzboten, Leipzig, January.*

**B**ROTHER JONATHAN is essentially a pious man. If he does not belong to any one of the fifty or hundred denominations of the Protestant Church, he counts himself one of the Church universal, whose members formulate their own creeds direct from the Bible. But as might be expected from such a progressive people, he likes to keep pace with all the latest achievements in science and philosophy, studying sometimes essays which seek to effect a reconciliation between the old and the new; and again, those which discard the old creeds as worn-out fables. A decisive step towards the establishment of an American school of philosophy has been made by the publication of a series of essays\* by the "Open Court" of Chicago, which afford as convenient a mode as could well be constructed for the American who wishes to discard his trappings of Christianity for an open avowal of Atheism. The philosophy of these essays is clear, intelligible, plain and matter-of-fact, to meet the American demand. The legend of the author is, "In place of agnosticism, positive knowledge, in place of mysticism, clear thought, neither supernaturalism nor materialism, but monism, in place of dogma, religion, in place of creed, belief." The kernel of this latest Belief may be summed up in the assertion: "The universe, that is all that is included in real existence, can be apprehended by the senses, and outside the material universe is nothing. The investigation into a first cause rests on a misconception of the idea of causation. The law of cause and effect is operative only within the universe. It

means nothing more than that whatever is, is the consequence of antecedent conditions, and that change of conditions follows a prescribed order. But to ask how any world, and precisely this world, came into existence, is simply absurd. The world is there, and we are a part of it, what more would you?"

"The most modern ghost," says the essayist, "goes under the name of the Unknowable. This apparition has banished science (not entirely!), in spite of which, superstition has returned in the shape of an undefined and undefinable something beyond our investigation. Many fear it as a power which rules in secret, many honor it as the sum of all perfection, many love it as the object of their unspeakable yearnings, and nearly all throw themselves down and worship it. It is the Baal of modern philosophy, the fetish whose supremacy the image-breakers of the nineteenth century cannot shake off." For the new school of philosophers there is nothing unintelligible, nothing hidden. Even the infinity of time and space are to them the simplest matters in the world. "The term infinity is legitimate in mathematics; as applied to the material universe—and space is only rendered obvious by material objects—it is a mere poetical expression for immeasurable. The universe is an actually existent object, of definite size and content, which can neither be added to, nor abstracted from, although we may be unable to measure it."

This is almost childish, but the essayist knows his Americans. He knows that the eager quest for the almighty dollar leaves them no time to ask with the ancient philosopher: If I were to stand on the edge of the universe could I shoot an arrow into the void beyond? And what then, suppose there is actually no edge to the universe? Ah yes! Kant was right when he relegated problems of time and space to those insoluble antinomies that man wrestles with in vain. Cease pigmy of an hour; realize thy impotence, fall down and worship!

Like most philosophers, with the notable exceptions of Kant and Herbart, our American philosopher endeavors to convince himself and his followers that moral or practical philosophy rests on the theoretical; and that consequently it is of the highest practical importance to accept the true system (the American). The world-wide experience, that all philosophies lead to the same moral code, and that the ethical maxims of all of them have an unmistakable likeness to the ten commandments, does not debar our American philosopher from asserting, that he has solved the problem of guiding the world by speculative paths to true morality. Morality rests immovably on moral ideas, that are as much inherent in us as æsthetic or intellectual ideas, and which in any given social community develop a general agreement. Religious and philosophic systems, in so far as these latter exert any influence on the populace, may strengthen or dull the perception of moral laws, or quicken one set of moral ideas more than another; but they leave the moral ideas practically untouched, and could as little add to their number as detract from them. Even when a religion guides to the crudest errors, it does not pervert the moral ideas. The Carthaginians, who, in their hour of defeat, sacrificed their sons to propitiate the Fire-god, were assumably deficient neither in the sentiment of regard for the general welfare, nor in love for their children. They did no more than Modern parents do, who send their sons to fall in the defense of the fatherland. They erred only in their belief that the sacrifice of their sons would be instrumental in saving their country.

The importance of religious and philosophical systems in ethics, depends on their influence on conduct. The Christian religion is, then, preëminently a blessing, because firm faith in Divine promises, and the hope of eternal life, generate a heroism in well-doing among those who are neither animated by honor nor ambition, nor supported by the consolations of philosophy; viz., women, children and the poor.

These essays are ably reasoned and in good literary style, and will be interesting to Germans as representative of the leading school of American philosophy.

\* Fundamental Problems, by Dr. Paul Carns.

## RELIGIOUS.

## THE TRUE ISRAEL.

VICTOR GARIEN.

*La Nouvelle Revue, Paris, January.*

"THE True Israelite" is the title of a work in which Lady Caithness, Duchess of Pomar, defines the difference between a Jew and an Israelite, and tells us who the Israelites are. The work may be epitomised thus:

The descendants of Abraham are the Chosen People amongst whom God determined to raise up the Messiah, the Saviour of the World. To Abraham it was promised that he should have a numerous posterity, and the promise began to be fulfilled in the lifetime of his grandson, Jacob, surnamed Israel, who had twelve sons. Each of those sons, with one exception, was the father of a tribe which received his name. The exception was Joseph, whose descendants formed two tribes named after his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. While, therefore, the sons of Jacob were twelve in number, the tribes of Israel were thirteen, namely, Levi, Judah, Ephraim, Manasseh and nine others. The thirteen tribes formed one nation until some time after the death of Solomon, when they were divided into two kingdoms—the kingdom of Judah or the Jews, consisting of the tribes of Levi and Judah, and the kingdom of Israel, or the Israelites, composed of the remaining tribes. By the Jews the Messiah, when He came, was to be rejected and crucified; by the Israelites He was to be welcomed with gladness.

The distinction thus established between Jews and Israelites explains much that seems contradictory in the prophecies concerning the Hebrew race. Those prophecies may be summed up in the words—Judah was accursed, Israel was blessed; the Jews were to be *dispersed*, the Israelites to be *lost*. The fulfilment of the prophecies with respect to the former is obvious; the Jews, without a government and bereft of political power, are scattered throughout the world, and are merely tolerated as foreigners in the countries in which they are living; but if it be asked—What about Israel? the answer is—The Israelites are the English nation, the Anglo-Saxon race.

This theory of the identity of the Israelites and the Anglo-Saxons is supported, not only by legends and by profane history and the science of ethnography, but also by Holy Scripture, and by the customs of the Anglo-Saxon race.

First as regards Scripture. It was foretold that the Israelites would be an insular people, that they would proceed to the west and the north-west; that, unlike the Jews, they would change their name, language, and law; that they would possess colonies everywhere, and that they would develop into a multitude of nations. The Anglo-Saxon race answers this prophetic description exactly. They belong to islands situated on the north-west of Palestine; their language abounds in Hebrew roots, and many of their family names are Jewish, yet, they neither call themselves Israelites, nor speak Hebrew, nor observe the Mosaic Law; they are the greatest colonial power in the world; and as colonists in Australia and South America they are neither unstable nor nomadic—they are nations with fixed habitations, recognized political power, and constitutional government.

Next, with respect to the customs of the Anglo-Saxon race. This race, both in Great Britain and in America, are assiduous students of, humanly speaking, that Jewish compilation, the Bible. They take judicial oaths on that book, and thus differ from the other Christian nations, who swear on a crucifix. They have founded their laws and constitution—not like the rest of Christendom, on the principles of Roman jurisprudence,—but on the Ten Commandments given to the Children of Israel. They religiously observe one day in seven like a Sabbath. Their weights and measures are those of the ancient Israelites. The English inch is the equivalent of the Hebrew inch, that is the twenty-third part of the sacred cubit, which is

a standard bearing a certain proportion to the length of the earth's axis. Lastly, and this is the most striking feature in their character, the Anglo-Saxons, even in the midst of mundane occupations, are intensely religious. The profoundly theistic genius they have inherited from the ancient Hebrews breathes through the inscription on the frieze of the Royal Exchange in London—"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."

To complete this identification of the Anglo-Saxons with the lost Israelites, it seems necessary to make special reference to one section of the race. The number of the tribes of Israel was increased, as already observed, from twelve to thirteen by the division of the descendants of Joseph into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Of the thirteenth tribe, that of Manasseh, Jacob on his deathbed prophesied (Genesis xlviii: 19) that it would become "a great people." This prediction has been fulfilled in the United States of America, whence the descendants of a band of Anglo-Saxon emigrants have become a power independent of the rest of Israel.

Such is the elaborate theory of Lady Caithness. It is incontestably grand, and, as regards the distinction between Jews and Israelites, it is a valuable deduction drawn from historical facts, but in other respects, is it true? Are the Anglo-Saxons—the descendants of Danish pirates and Saxon freebooters and Norman adventurers—the Chosen People, and have they truly fulfilled their Divine mission?

Undoubtedly the English and the Americans are the two peoples of the earth who have reached the highest degree of power, if not of civilization. They are, taken together, a grand school of liberty for other nations. It must also be confessed that the immense progress made by the Americans in every department of life and the moral influence of their political and social institutions are indications that the colonial expansion of England, to which the Americans owe their origin, is a part of a plan conceived by Divine Wisdom; but the assertion that the Anglo-Saxons are the Chosen People suggests the inquiry—What is the purpose for which a people are chosen. Is it simply that they may exercise dominion over other peoples. The English trample on the rights of other nations, and aspire, wherever they find themselves, to reign supreme. This may be Israelitish, but is it the work of God?

## ARE MIRACLES TO BE EXPECTED?

THE REVEREND LUCIUS E. SMITH, D.D.

*Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O., January.*

IT is a remarkable example of opposite developments that while at the present time a philosophy has gained extensive credence, which denies the possibility of any supernatural action controlling or modifying the course of nature, a considerable number of Christians firmly believe, and confidently maintain, that miracles are now wrought, and that more could be witnessed but for a lamentable want of faith. Skepticism that doubts the being of God, exists beside a faith that might remove mountains, if it only would.

This is a question which cannot be intelligently or profitably discussed, without an attempt at the outset to define the meaning of terms. What do we, or ought we to mean by *miracles*? Are there supernatural acts that fall short of the miraculous?

We are making this inquiry as Christians and assuming as true the fundamental beliefs of Christianity. To us there is one God, the Father, and all things by Him. By this we understand that He maintains not only the order of creation but its existence. Created existence is dependent existence—dependent, not only in the moment of its creation, but in every subsequent moment. To every person, to everything, to every particle of matter, God is present, and nothing can happen to any person or thing, or particle of matter, without His permission. Man can deal successfully with matter only by conforming to its



laws. But God is above nature; He transcends nature; and all laws of nature, known and unknown, are but parts of His ways.

Man, as to one constituent of his being, is a part of nature, and subject to its laws. But he is also a spiritual being, made in the image of God, and as such invested with a dominion over nature, through which he is able to make it subserve his use, but still within the limits set by natural laws. We observe, therefore, two classes of events constantly taking place: the one, what we term in the strictest sense, natural events, the other, depending not upon physical necessity, but upon the determination of will.

With regard to the contention that Christ commissioned His disciples to work miracles, the first important fact to be noted is the small number of miracles described: only twelve examples are circumstantially described in the thirty years following the close of Christ's ministry. It is further to be observed, that the Apostles cannot be shown ever to have wrought, or to have professed to work, miracles on the initiative of their own will. In this respect they conform to the law under which the prophets of the Old Testament did their supernatural works; that is, when and as Jehovah commanded them. The signs and wonders following the Pentecost are said to have been wrought through (not *by*) the Apostles.

Again, there is nothing to show that miracles were wrought mainly, if at all, to satisfy the personal wishes of the person through, or on whom, the miracle was performed. Paul suffered much anxiety with respect to the illness of Epaphroditus, but did not supernaturally shorten it; he left Trophimus at Miletum sick; instead of miraculously healing Timothy's "often infirmity," he prescribed a little wine. It is plain that miraculous power was not something possessed by Paul to be used on his own or his friends' account, but was communicated to him, or rather through him, at such times and under such circumstances, as God's good pleasure appointed, and God's Spirit revealed to him.

When we pass from the New Testament to ecclesiastical history, we discover at the outset that there is no evidence to prove a *continuous* exercise of miraculous power, from and after the Apostolic age. For half a century after the Apostles there is no mention of it. The Apostolic Fathers, so-called, do not claim miraculous powers for themselves or any of their contemporaries; but in the second century, beginning with Justin Martyr, the claim is constantly and peremptorily made by the Fathers. But those Fathers give no names or particulars; they do not claim that miracles were wrought by themselves or the bishops or the priests. They only say that such and such things are done "among us" by "many." The casting out of demons, by the way, was the miracle of which the most was made, and unhappily the patients thus treated were liable to fresh seizures.

As to the claim set up in our day that an age of miracles is dawning, we must submit, without reservation, that there is no impossibility in the supposition. Yet it would be strange if we could not find in the Word of God some principles, by which to try the evidence that is offered to prove that "The Lord hath visited His people." But if miracles are signs to confirm the Word, we have reason to look with suspicion upon wonders, that are supposed to have been performed for their own sake, or for purely personal ends.

When we come to instances of alleged cure in answer to prayer without medical aid, it by no means follows that the cure which is *post hoc* is also *propter hoc*. We believe that God is a hearer of prayer. We believe that He may answer prayer for healing, either by giving effect to remedies, or in some other way. But it does not follow, in either case, that a miracle has been wrought, to be compared with the mighty works done by our Lord, or through the Apostles in His name.

We do not in such cases recognize miracle, and we fail to discover any occasion for what is recognized as a miracle in the Word of God.

## ST. JOHN'S ARGUMENT FROM MIRACLES.

L. G. BARBOUR, D.D.

*Presbyterian Quarterly, Richmond, Va., January.*

WE are so accustomed to regard John's Gospel as a sweet, tender evangel, that we are apt to leave out of view its argumentative character. John, himself, however, in his twentieth chapter teaches us to avoid this mistake: "Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book, but these things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Hence, in addition to these things, we find in the first twenty chapters of his gospel a number of what are called miracles, and he tells us that they have been written with an argumentative purpose.

For our ends it is hardly necessary to define the term miracle anew. It is enough to say that any satisfactory attestation of a message from Heaven must include the exhibition of a wisdom, a power, or some other attribute, above what belongs to man; something that surpasses the skill, the might—may we not add the love, the pity, the self-sacrifice—to which we can attain. It must be *miraculum*, a wonder; then, too, it must be *signum*, a sign.

It is not, then, a matter absolutely indispensable, that the sign and wonder should be wrought in the domain of matter, yet this is usually the case in the miracles of the Bible.

The most effective argument is not produced by a bewildering mass of proofs, but by a judicious selection. John had a large store to draw from. He chose nine or ten out of a great number of signs and wonders, and rested his case on these. Let us devoutly seek for the principle on which the selection was made.

The Gospel is intended for all sorts and conditions of men, for the learned and the unlearned, for the gentle and simple. Hence its evidences must, at least some of them, come down to the level of the lowest understanding. Although, after the teachings of the Master, and under the influence of the Holy Spirit, John was a profound thinker, he was not a scientific man in the modern sense of the term. It was needful, therefore, that the evidences exhibited to him in the natural world should be adapted to his degree of acquaintance with the laws of nature. At the same time, and this is one of the most curious and interesting features of the whole subject, the facts adduced must be such as would stand the test of scientific examination at any stage of the world's history.

In his sixth chapter John tells us, that on one occasion the Lord left His disciples, and departed alone into a mountain. The disciples entered into a ship, and went over the sea of Galilee towards Capernaum. A storm arose, the disciples were toiling at the oars, when they saw something preternatural walking towards them on the sea; they were frightened, but Jesus said unto them, "It is I, be not afraid." Then they willingly received Him into the ship.

It was well that one of John's miracles should be drawn from the realm of gravitation. Modern science has only enlarged our knowledge, and enhanced our appreciation of this force. It has not explained away the miracle, but has given it increased dignity in our eyes. As we are not informed by the sacred writer how this miracle was wrought, we can only speculate about it.

In this miracle of our Lord the attractive force of the earth may have been suspended for the time, so far as relates to Christ's Body. He who impressed this force upon matter in the beginning could surely annihilate or suspend it. Another method of explanation depends upon the familiar fact, that in some inscrutable way our spirits counteract the force of gravitation. We do this every time we lift a weight. Gravitation perpetually solicits, but is overcome by a superior force.

In the miracle of the wine at Cana of Galilee, science again can only conjecture the means adopted. Now, water is not precisely isomeric with wine, hence new materials had to be introduced into the water, and this could be done either according to Prof. Schaeffer's idea, by an act of creation, or else by summoning the needed elements from air and earth, and effecting their synthetic combination with water as wine.

In the miracle of the bread and fishes too, in feeding the five thousand, the materials must have been furnished, whether by immediate creation, or by miraculous gathering from overhead and underfoot. In the abundance here supplied by our Saviour there was vegetable and animal food, without destruction of vegetable or animal life. The Maker of all things simply produced without the intervention of vegetable or animal, what we can only produce through their agency.

## Books.

*THE MODERN RÉGIME.* By Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, D.C.L., Oxon. Translated by John Durand. Vol. I., 12mo. pp. 359. New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1890.

[In the series of works by Mr. Taine on "The Origins of Contemporary France" appears this first volume of "The Modern Régime." Its predecessors, "The Ancien Régime" and "The French Revolution" brought Mr. Taine's account of "The Origins" down to the year 1799. In undertaking the volume before us, the author's task became more difficult. The old régime and the Revolution, when he began to write about them, were finished and completed periods. It was possible to judge them from an historical point of view. But the régime of which the volume under consideration treats is still unfinished. It is, in fact, the social order of things of the present day in France with which the author has to deal. He has reason for distrusting his own judgment, whether he blames or praises the social system under which Frenchmen are now living. Hence the great care necessary in weighing the immense mass of material to be consulted. Mr. Taine has spared no labor in studying everything which can throw light on his subject. The correspondence of Napoleon I. alone, is estimated to amount to 80,000 pieces in the French archives, nearly all of which, though a portion remains unpublished, the author appears to have examined. But no amount of matter, however vast, serves in the least to overburden Mr. Taine's clear and penetrating intellect. His materials never master him. From these he picks out just enough to prove the conclusions to which, after much reflection, he has come; and weaving into his comments the facts which are necessary for his purpose, he delivers his judgment in that vivacious and luminous style, which has made his previous volumes as entertaining as they are valuable. The second volume of the present work, which will complete his undertaking, will treat of the Church, the School and the Family, as they exist to-day in France.]

MODERN France was made by Napoleon Bonaparte. He was the architect, proprietor and principal occupant from 1799 to 1814 of the social edifice in which Frenchmen are now living; and never was an individual character so profoundly stamped on any collectivework. To comprehend that work, we must first study the character of the man.

In his nature he was an Italian of the middle ages, one of the *condottieri*. He was ready to fight for those who offered most, but held himself ready to grab everything for himself. To find the counterpart for the grasp and variety of his intellect we should probably have to recur to Cæsar. But Napoleon's mind, in its comprehensiveness and amplitude, largely surpasses all known or even credible proportions. He was a posthumous brother of Dante and Michael Angelo; in the clear outlines of his vision, in the intensity, coherency and inward logic of his reflections, in the profundity of his meditations, in the superhuman grandeur of his conceptions, he is, indeed, their fellow and their equal. His dominant passion was ambition. It was the prime motor of his soul and the permanent substance of his will, so profound that he no longer distinguished between it and himself, and of which he was sometimes unconscious. Between 1804 and 1815 he caused to be slaughtered 1,700,000 Frenchmen born within the boundaries of ancient France, to which must be added, probably, 2,000,000 of men born outside of those limits, and slain for him under the title of allies, or slain by him under the title of enemies. His sovereign egoism introduced a vice of construction into both his European and his French political structures. This vice was manifest in the former at the end of fifteen years, and led to its sudden downfall. In the French edifice that vice was not clearly visible until the expiration of half a century, and possibly will not be wholly visible until the end of a century from the downfall of the constructor.

When Napoleon attained power, by the revolution of the 19th Brumaire, he found the social and political systems of France in ruins, and their reconstruction was a work of immense difficulty, while the materials available for the reconstruction were of very poor quality. Externally, France was constantly at war with Europe; peace could not be secured except by great military effort, and peace was as difficult to preserve as war. Internally, the nation had to keep under arms to restore civil order. Everything was at sixes and sevens. The local powers were in conflict with the central power. Inertia, corruption and disobedience characterized all departments of the government, local and general. Conscripits had to be got, taxes had to be collected and the State had no hands either to seize the conscripits by the collar or rummage the pockets of tax-payers. There was no way to avoid anarchy save by despotism. So Bonaparte seized the power. He undertook to restore France after the fashion of the old Roman Empire, which took firm hold of his magnificent, benighted imagination. His system in regard to political, legislative and judicial organizations, was like those which extended from Diocletian to Constantine, and beyond these down to Theodosius; the powers of the people delegated

unconditionally to one man; this omnipotence conferred, theoretically or apparently, through the free choice of the citizens, but really through the will of the army; no protection against the Prince's arbitrary edict, otherwise than a no less arbitrary rescript from the same hand; his successor designated, adopted and qualified by himself; a Senate for show, a Council of State for business; all local powers conferred from above; cities under tutelage; all subjects endowed with the showy title of citizen, and all citizens reduced to the humble condition of tax-payers and of people under control; an administration of a hundred thousand arms, which takes all services into its hands, comprising public instruction, public succor and public supplies of food, together with systems of worship. Wherever Napoleon places his hand he applies his own social system. It is his conscription, his civil code, his constitutional and ecclesiastical system, his university, his system of equity and promotion that he imposed on France, and by the greater part of those systems she is ruled to this hour.

That Napoleon's system was a remedy, for the time, for the almost intolerable evils which Frenchmen were suffering from when he came to power is patent. In France there was then no safety or security for conscience, property or person, and for these there was a loud and unanimous outcry. Tranquillity was restored by a centralization of all powers in one hand, by local powers being conferred by the central power, and this supreme power in the hands of a resolute chief, equal in intelligence to his high position; next, a regularly paid army, carefully equipped, properly clothed and fed, strictly disciplined and therefore obedient and able to do its duty, without wavering or faltering, like any other instrument of precision; an active police and *gendarmerie* held in check; administrators independent of those subject to them, and judges independent of those under their jurisdiction—all appointed, maintained, watched, and restrained from above, as impartial as possible, sufficiently competent, and in their official spheres, capable functionaries—and finally, freedom of worship.

That this system, in the way it was administered by Napoleon, had great merit, is undeniable. His eye was everywhere. His functionaries in these many offices had to work hard for their bread. If a man was incompetent or dishonest or careless he lost his place. The master rewarded good service by constant and rapid promotion. He stimulated the ambition of those who served him by holding before them glittering prizes. In those days there was no under-clerk who, in his labored penmanship, inscribed names on a piece of parchment, that did not imagine his own name appearing some day on a senatorial or ministerial diploma. At that time, the youthful corporal, who donned his first stripes of gold braid, already fancied that he heard the beating of the drums, the blast of the trumpet, and the salvos of artillery which would proclaim him Marshal of the Empire. But the machinery which worked so well at first, broke down at the end of fifteen years through its own action. Napoleon by his own egoism strained the machine and put it out of order. It was repaired by his successors, but broke down in the same way at the expiration of a more or less lengthened period. Thus far, the longest of these periods has lasted less than twenty years.

The Napoleonic system has one great and overwhelming defect. It is local government which makes men the most valuable and important possession in every State. Nothing is so essential for a government as public spirit in its citizens. But this public spirit is easily extinguished. In the mass of men, personal interest prevails against common interest, while against the egoistic interest the social instinct is feeble. When local societies, communes or villages have to provide for their own local needs—roads, bridges, drainage, sewage, embankments, health, good water, and the like—the members of these local societies are forced into concerted action. This becomes for them a school in which they learn lessons invaluable to the State, but which can be learned in no other way. When all these things are done for them, by agents appointed by a higher power and over whose appointment the members of these local societies have no control, these members fold their arms and attend to their own affairs, not troubling themselves about local affairs. Thus the best half of the soul of the nation is paralyzed, the public mind is perverted, generous impulses are transformed into evil outbursts, and there are organized lasting inertia, discontent, discord, feebleness and sterility.

Over the whole territory of France, local society has proved abortive. It is simply a legal figment, an artificial grouping together of



neighbors, who do not find themselves bound and *incorporated* together by neighborhood. In order that their society may become living and stimulative, it would require both commune and department to have in mind and heart the following idea, which they no longer entertain: "We are all here together in the same vessel, which vessel belongs to us, and we form its crew. We are here to manage it ourselves, with our own hands, each according to his rank or position, each taking his part, little or big, in doing his own work."

After years of silence, neither feeling nor thought is any longer capable of uttering this vivifying and decisive phrase. Those who ought to be interested in local society care but little for it, and the State does not allow them to be interested.

Nowadays, however, the interference of the State is an advantage, for, should it renounce its preponderance, this would pass over to the other power which, since this has become vested in a numerical majority, is mere blind and brutal force. Abandoned to itself, and without any counter-weight, the ascendancy of this blind force would be disastrous.

In effect, direct universal suffrage, counting by heads, is in local society an incongruous element, a monstrous contrivance. Constituted as local society is, not by human arbitrament, but by physical conditions, its mechanism is determined beforehand; it excludes certain wheels and connections; the legislator must write out in the law what is written out by things, or, at least, translate this as closely as he can, without any gross contradiction. Nature herself presents him with ready-made statutes. His business is to read these properly; he has already transcribed the apportionment of burdens, he can now transcribe the apportionment of rights.

The wings of the prefect of a department have been somewhat clipped since Bonaparte centralized everything. Before 1870, when the prefect appointed the mayors, and when the council-general held its sessions only fifteen days in the year, he was almost omnipotent. Still, at the present day, his powers are immense, and his power remains preponderant. He has the right to suspend the municipal council and the mayor, and to propose their dismissal to the head of the State. Without resorting to this extremity, he holds them with a strong hand, always uplifted over the commune, for he can veto the acts of the municipal police and of the road committee, annul the regulations of the mayor, and through a skillful use of the prerogative, impose his own. Besides, the prefect has the power of doing a great many disagreeable things. Titular conductor or overseer of all general services, he is, in his circumscription, head inquisitor of the republican faith even in relation to private life and inner sentiments.

Under the democratic régime, the maintenance and service of the local government becomes more and more costly; for it is the rich or well-to-do minority which defrays the larger portion of the expense; owing to universal suffrage, it is the poor or half-poor majority which preponderates in voting, while the larger number who vote overtax the small paying number with impunity. Coming generations are burdened over and beyond the present generation, while the sum of loans constantly increases like the sum of taxation. The communes with debts, all together save Paris, owed in 1868, five hundred and twenty-four million francs; in 1872 seven hundred and eleven million; in 1878, thirteen hundred and twenty-two million. Paris, in 1868, already owed thirteen hundred and seventy-six million francs; March 30, 1878, it owed nineteen hundred and eighty-eight million; In this same Paris, the annual contribution of each inhabitant in 1848, was 43 francs; and, at the end of the second Empire, in 1869, 94 francs. In 1887, it was 110 francs per head.

Thus the combined effect of the centralized system established by Bonaparte and universal suffrage is, that we have a badly kept establishment, in which profusion and waste become worse and worse; where sinecures multiply; and where corruption enters in; a staff of officials becoming more and more numerous and less and less serviceable, harrassed between two different authorities, obliged to possess or to simulate political zeal and to neutralize an impartial law by partiality, and besides performing their regular duties, to do dirty work; in this staff there are two sorts of employés, the new-comers, who are greedy, and who, through favor get the best places, and the old ones who are patient and pretend no more, but who suffer and grow disheartened; increased expenditures, to meet which loans and debts are necessary; and, finally, forced receipts which do not cover the expenses, liabilities which exceed assets; a budget which shows only a stable balance on paper—in short, an establishment with which the public is not content and which is on the road to bankruptcy.

**THE VETO POWER**, Its Origin, Development and Function in the Government of the United States (1789-1889). By Edward Campbell Mason, A.B., Instructor in Political Economy. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History. Harvard Historical Monographs, No. 1. 8vo., pp. 232. Boston, U. S. A.: Ginn & Company. 1890.

[This first of a contemplated series of Historical Monographs to be issued by Harvard University, deals with the Veto Power, a subject on which no formal treatise has been written. Although the work is concerned with political subjects, both Author and Editor have been successful in their endeavors to avoid political bias; the vetoes being condemned or approved upon what seems to those responsible for the book sound principles of constitutional law and political expediency, irrespective of present parties. The basis of this study of the Veto Power is a list of the Presidential vetoes, compiled from the records of Congress, and covering the period from the foundation of the present form of government in 1789 to the end of President Cleveland's administration, March 4, 1889. Appendix A contains a chronological list of all bills vetoed from April 6, 1789, to March 4, 1889, together with a brief legislative history of each bill. From this list it appears that the whole number of Presidential Vetoes during the time mentioned was 433, of which 301—or more than two-thirds—were signed by President Cleveland. Besides the Appendix named, there are five other appendices: "A Chronological List of Presidential Protests from April 6, 1789, to March 4, 1889;" "A Chronological List of Vetoes sent to the Congress of the Confederate States of America from March 1, 1861, to March 17, 1865;" "The Legislative Activity of the Presidents, 1789-1889;" "Provisions of State Constitutions relative to the Veto, July 15, 1890;" and "Bibliography of the Veto Power."]

THE veto power which has come down to us from the Teutonic tribes of Tacitus, originated as a part of the power to make laws. As such it was one of the prerogatives of the King of England. In the course of time the King was almost wholly deprived of his positive power in legislation. All that was left him was the negative power of disapproval. From the time of the Tudors down to the Revolution of 1688, the King's right to refuse his assent to bills of Parliament was practically unquestioned. From 1688 the veto was used more circumspectly, although it was still active during the reign of William III. After his death, in 1708, the Queen refused her assent to a bill for settling the militia of Scotland. From that time to this no English sovereign has vetoed a bill of Parliament. Mr. Bagehot puts the case in rather a strong form, when he says that the Queen "must sign her own death-warrant if the two Houses send it to her." The royal governors in the Colonies had the right of veto. In the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States the veto power was granted to the President, after much discussion, but only with the qualification that a veto might be overruled by a vote of two-thirds of each House of Congress.

Vetoes may be considered under various aspects. The veto power has been used many times, and often successfully, as a defense to the executive. The power of the executive in foreign affairs, his power over the Army, and lastly his power to veto bills, have all been asserted and maintained against legislative encroachments.

In regard to Vetoes affecting the exercise of the powers of government, as to finance, territorial affairs, internal improvements, so far as their divers effect can be summed up in a word, it may be said that the Veto has been used to prevent Congress from extending its authority; that in almost all cases it has been used wisely; and that it has failed only in those cases where Congress has been supported by a strong public opinion, or in which the majority of the people took no interest.

When the Constitution was made, the great fear in men's minds was that of executive usurpation. But the experience of the Continental Congress, of the Confederation, and of the States had also shown to what lengths an unchecked legislature can go. Hence men like Hamilton pointed out the tendency of the legislative department to encroach on the executive and the necessity of a veto, absolute or qualified. No idea was apparently entertained that the veto would ever be necessary to prevent Congress from unconstitutionally enlarging its powers, except in the direction of encroachments upon the executive. Yet the most important class of constitutional vetoes has been for this unanticipated purpose. In the category we find Washington's first veto, the long series of internal improvement vetoes, the public land vetoes, the veto of the Texas Seed Bill and others.

The veto power has not followed the course marked out for it, but has worked out for itself a path different, both in direction and extent, from that prophesied. The change is no proof of weakness in the veto, but rather shows its vigor. The power can be adapted to the changing needs of the nation, without losing its efficacy.

## The Press.

### POLITICAL.

#### THE STRUGGLE IN THE SENATE.

*Boston Herald (Ind.), Jan. 3.*—Yesterday was the day set by Senator Aldrich for the passage of his cloture resolution. But the gagging programme is very hard to carry out. It was only in yesterday's sitting that he succeeded in getting the resolution before the Senate by a vote of 36 yeas to 32 nays, a narrow and ephemeral majority of four in a chamber where the Republicans have a party lead of fourteen. Many more days will probably be spent in the desperate effort to gag the Senate, so that the Force Bill can be passed.

The spectacle is presented at Washington of the entire business of Congress obstructed and suspended in the effort to pass a single measure.

There is no difference of opinion as to the propriety of the passage of the bills for which Congress is chiefly brought together. They are the appropriation bills. With the dominant party in the Government lies the responsibility for their adoption. The minority party does not object to them.

This indicates in a once great party of the country a decadence which has an element in it that savors more of recklessness than of sound statesmanship. Such spectacles characterize the rump period of a party, rather than mark its periods of healthy and vigorous control of public affairs. But, examined more carefully, the situation is greatly worse. This action, which it is endeavored to pass through Congress to the delay, if not the destruction, of the recognized legitimate business of the session, is action to overcome the will of the people.

Public opinion decreed, at an election held in November, by the largest majority known in a contested election in this country for more than fifty years, that this Bill, which legitimate legislation is put aside to force through Congress, ought not to pass. There is no doubt whatever on that point. Those concerned in it know that, if it is carried over into the Congress which the people have just elected, it will be defeated by a majority of about four to one. This is the people's decree. It is difficult adequately to state the insult to the people and the wrong done them in this action without appearing to use extravagant language. If it is not a conspiracy against popular government, we respectfully ask what would be? Neither the Stuarts nor the Bourbons ever more insultingly defied the will of the English or the French people than the supporters of the Federal Elections Bill have defied the American people in this action, and the conspiracy against the people's will is as plain in the latter case as in the others.

*Boston Journal (Rep.), Jan. 23.*—Fortunately right and might were on the same side in the national Senate yesterday, and the country begins to see the end of this interminable debate. The contest which is now being fought out at Washington is one of the gravest in all our legislative history. Let nobody delude himself with the belief that it concerns merely the fate of the Elections Bill or some other specific measure. The point at issue is much larger and more comprehensive and important. It is whether the majority, or the minority, shall rule. Such an issue as this transcends all party considerations. It transcends all sectional considerations. It is an issue on which for thoughtful, patriotic citizens who believe in a government of the people, by the people, for the people, there can be but one side. If the majority are to rule, then this nation is a true republic; if the minority are to rule, however we may try to disguise the fact, this nation is in effect an oligarchy, and we may as well make up our minds to call it so.

The closure resolution can no more stifle

discussion in the Senate than the maintenance of the Union could stifle the rights and principles of the States. The best proof of this is afforded in the fact that, though the first steps of the resolution have already been taken, days and days must elapse before it can be effective to check the flood of oratory that has been pouring forth on the Elections Bill for months. There is not a man of candor and intelligence in this nation who does not know that a fortnight was sufficient for the legitimate discussion of this measure, and for an exposition of its merits or demerits to the country, and that three-fourths at least of the voluminous speeches of the Democratic Senators have been directly and exclusively intended for delay.

The argument that unlimited debate is necessary to protect the minority would be effective if it could be shown that minorities are always right. That is the idea upon which oligarchies are founded, but republics are based on precisely the opposite assumption, that it is the majorities that are right.

Perhaps, as a matter of fact, this assumption is not invariably the correct one; but at any rate it is infinitely preferable to the other, and it is the only one that is consistent with a popular form of Government. The Bourbon Senators who are desperately fighting the closure resolution at Washington are true to their name and their political traditions. Though forced by their position to profess loyalty to a republic, they are aristocrats at heart. They have the Bourbon love for an oligarchical Government, and the Bourbon distrust of the people.

*Philadelphia Times (Ind.), Jan. 24.*—When Vice-President Morton ruled that the correction and approval of the journal of the Senate could be thrust aside by partisan trickery, he dishonored the second office of the Government and dishonored the highest legislative tribunal of the Nation.

The correction of the journal of any legislative body is, and always has been, a question of the highest privilege. It is made so by all parliamentary authorities, and it is so expressly declared by a positive rule of the Senate; but Vice-President Morton, after awkward wobbling between right and wrong for several days, finally plunged into the revolutionary tide, and has brought disgrace upon both himself and the Senate.

If Vice-President Morton's lawless ruling of Thursday means that he is ready to rule in favor of a lawless cloture to pass a cloture rule for the Senate, let him do it at once. No hesitation or explanation or affectation of honesty can extenuate the wrong, and the sooner he does it the better it will be all around.

*Detroit Tribune (Rep.), Jan. 22.*—The scenes witnessed in the Senate and House for the past few days show to what extent the obstructionists are ready to go to carry out their purpose. The one purpose of defeating legislation by killing time has been the study and aim of the minority in both branches of Congress, and in so far as they have succeeded, their success is due to despicable trickery and rascally defiance of the rights of the majority. Threats of personal violence and demonstrations of the same have been heard and seen both in the House and Senate. The Bully Brooks of the South have swaggered about in the awfulness of their conceit with chips on their shoulders and revenge in their hearts. They have relied upon their resources of bluff and bluster, which are usually the chief assets of the demonstrative coward, to overawe the majority into submission to the will of the minority. They have been humored long enough. It is the duty of the Republican majority to sit down on them and sit down on them hard. The majority are responsible for the passage or defeat of important measures pending in Congress and they owe it to themselves and their party to remove all obstructions that stand in the way of needed legislation. It is their duty to assert their majority rights and employ the means necessary to enforce

them. Nothing short of this will be satisfactory or right.

We think the majority in Congress will fight it out on this line from this time on to the close of the session. Above the rebel yell at Washington should be heard the voice of the people of the North who elected a Republican President and Republican Congress to carry out the pledges of the Republican party.

*Charleston News and Courier (Dem.), Jan. 24.*—In his speech on Thursday, Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, declared that "the action of the minority was revolutionary," and that to accede to the "intolerant and outrageous domination of the minority, would be to strike a serious blow at free institutions." The purpose of such statements is to deceive the public as to the nature of the present contest at Washington, and to make it appear that the Democrats are responsible for obstructing the public business. There could be nothing further from the truth, as the minority are fighting, with the only weapons they have, not against the orderly conduct of the Government, but against the surrender of the election machinery of the country into the hands of the most unscrupulous band of political marauders any free country has ever known. The minority are justified in resorting to every Parliamentary device to accomplish their honorable purpose, and instead of being denounced as filibusters they should be regarded as statesmen and patriots.

There is nothing more stupid and untrue than the charges that have been made in the Senate and in newspapers of easy virtue, or none, that this is a Government of the majority, and that the minority must submit. Benjamin Harrison is President of the United States, though a clear majority of the people of the country actually voted against him. Oregon has two Senators in Washington, though it has in the popular branch of Congress only one Representative. Nevada has two Senators and only one Representative. Each of the little pocket boroughs of the North-west which were admitted into the Union last year for the special purpose of defeating the will of the people, has two Senators, and so it goes that in the upper house of Congress, at least, we have a Government of a minority.

We hope that the Democrats will fight it out on the present line if it takes until the 4th of March. Better let all public business go to pot than to permit the Republicans to perpetuate their control of the Government by seizing the election machinery of the country and holding it at the point of the bayonet.

*Baltimore American (Rep.), Jan. 24.*—Including to-day, the Fifty-first Congress has thirty-five working days remaining. Not an Appropriation Bill has been passed. A mass of important legislation lies untouched. Measures essential to the general prosperity stand no likelihood whatever of being considered. It is one of the most backward sessions in the history of the Government. Even if the Senate should get down to work next week, it would have to pass a general appropriation bill every three days to avoid an extra session—a speed which will render close inspection of items and economical inquiry impossible. The rush of these vast sums of money through the legislative mill will be more than ordinarily expensive, for the simple reason that good and bad will go together, and there will be no time for separating them.

We thus have a plain but sorrowful result of the obstructive tactics of the Democrats. For six weeks the Senate has done virtually nothing, its only act being the passage of the Silver Coinage Bill—a Democratic victory;—the rest of the time being killed by Democratic delay. There never was a Congress in which there was as much useless talk or as much wrangling, and there never was a Congress that used more oratory, with less impression on the public.

The country is getting so large, its interests have grown so manifold, that wasting time will not do, especially when every moment could



be advantageously employed in considering matters of real importance, and when not one-hundredth of the bills on the calendar, under the present conditions, stand a ghost of a show of becoming laws.

*Baltimore Sun (Dem.), Jan. 24.*—There was less of the sensational in the proceedings of the Senate yesterday than on some preceding days, but the interest felt in the gallant fight made by the Democratic Senators for pure elections was undiminished. Never before, perhaps, in the history of the Senate has there been a parliamentary contest in which a minority has exhibited so much skill, pertinacity, sustained spirit, and vigor. Never before, it may be added, has a minority under the disadvantages under which the present minority labors achieved so many successes. It has fought off the calamity of the passage of the Force Bill now for fifty-four days, and its resources of legitimate and orderly resistance seem to be by no means exhausted. What the end of the fight will be it is still impossible to predict. The Vice-President's development of the character of an unscrupulous partisan creates a serious difficulty for the minority. He may load the dice with which the New England Senators are playing, so as to defeat those who must rely largely upon rulings in accordance with the existing rules. But in view of the fertility of resources the leaders of the minority exhibit, it may be hoped that the cause of honest elections will yet triumph.

*Nashville American (Dem.), Jan. 24.*—For the past few days we have seen various complimentary allusions, sometimes rising to the degree of extravagant eulogy upon Vice-President Morton as a fair and conscientious presiding officer. It has been asserted by Democratic newspapers in various parts of the country that Mr. Morton would never descend to the methods of Bully Reed, nor trample upon the rules of the Senate, as the latter had trampled upon all rules. Some have gone so far as to apologize for having so utterly mistaken the size of the man; and we notice a cartoon in *Puck* which represents him as being a giant among pigmies instead of being as heretofore supposed a pigmy among giants.

The *American* has never been one of these. It has never changed its estimate of Mr. Morton, nor harbored for one moment the opinion that he would dare to rule against the dictates of his party caucus. As a parliamentarian he is a most absurd ignoramus, an obtuse, confused and blundering incompetent. He has simply waited for the word to be given. That is all. Mr. Morton is just as small as he ever was. He is and will remain a very low type of that low class of politicians who pay party expenses in exchange for party honors. He is the "fellow like Phelps," who was nominated by the advice of Mr. Ingalls because of his ability to "get money from Wall Street," and in spite of his known lack of any of the essential qualities of a statesman.

*Kansas City Times (Dem.), Jan. 23.*—In stating yesterday that Vice-President Morton was Vice-President of the whole United States the *Times* was misinformed. He is, says the latest information by wire from Washington, merely Vice-President of the radical wing of the Republican party. The Nation has no Vice-President and will have none until 1892.

*Cleveland Leader (Rep.), Jan. 23.*—The attempt of the Democrats in the Senate and House to excite sympathy in their behalf by raising the cry that the majority is trying to "gag" them, will not deceive intelligent people, who clearly perceive that in this case the minority have "gagged" the majority. Several great measures of the utmost importance to many millions of people, including the Shipping Bills, the Apportionment Bill, the Bankruptcy Bill, the Pure Food Bill, the Bill for the relief of the Supreme Court, and all the appropriation bills are "held up" by the

minority, who declare that none of them shall pass unless the majority will agree to drop the Fair Elections Bill. "Gag" rule applied to the minority by the majority is justifiable only when the legitimate demands and resources of debate have been exhausted. "Gag" rule applied by the minority to the majority is subversive of the fundamental principle of free government and is never justifiable under any circumstances. Any code of rules that permits it is inherently wrong and should be amended.

*Springfield Republican (Ind.), Jan. 24.*—The popular objection to cloture in the Senate is by no means an objection to the rule of the majority, but to the rule of partisanship; given a majority in the Senate or House in whose statesmanlike patriotism the country has confidence, and an obstructive minority could not stand before it a moment. The strength of the minority in the Senate to-day is the power of public opinion behind it. Measured by the standard of the approval of the thoughtful people of the country whose political horizon is not bounded by party lines, Mr. Hoar and his allies are in the minority, and not the opponents of the Elections Bill.

#### CLOSURE DEFEATED.

*N. Y. Times (Ind.), Jan. 27.*—The six Republican Senators who voted yesterday with the Democrats to abandon the effort to abridge discussion so that the Force Bill might be passed were wiser in their generation and for their party than the thirty-three Republicans who rallied around Mr. Hoar. As one of the six dissidents has pointed out to the Senate, the effect of the Force Bill upon the opinion of the country has already been decidedly unfavorable to the Republican party, and the enactment of that measure would cost the party still dearer in public disapprobation.

Probably it may be assumed that this second postponement of the Force Bill—for, of course, the attempt at closure is merely an adjunct to the Force Bill—is the end of that measure. Its postponement to the Silver Bill, which was disposed of with unexpected rapidity, was by no means so conclusive. The Apportionment Bill must, necessarily, give rise to protracted debate, and it is a party measure of the first importance. Nobody imagines that the next Congress will pass any such measure of reapportionment as is before the present Congress. The Bill may be expected to occupy nearly all the remainder of the session. In any case, it is not to be supposed that the six Republican Senators by whose votes the closure resolution was yesterday postponed to the Apportionment Bill would vote either for that resolution or for the Force Bill, the passage of which it is intended to facilitate. Some of them are distinctly committed against both measures, and the votes of the others amount to a committal. It may be worth while for the revivers of the sectional issue to note that these votes, excepting that of Quay's colleague, Mr. Cameron, were cast by Senators from the extreme West and the North-west. This is one of many indications that the people of those sections have grown very weary of the present policy and of the present leaders of the Republican party.

*N. Y. Herald (Ind. Rep.), Jan. 27.*—The Force Bill has been knocked out for a time at least. The omnipotent common-sense of the American people may yet compel its permanent retirement.

We extend to Gorman, of Maryland, to the brave army of Democrats and to the few Republicans who defied the revenges of the Administration, our hearty congratulations. They have made a glorious fight, not for party, but for union without sectional hatreds and animosities.

The situation, stated in cold blood, is just this: The Force Bill had no chance of getting to a vote unless freedom of debate was suppressed. The Democrats were therefore to be

gagged, the rules of a century were to be thrown aside, and the Republicans hoped to override the opposition by sheer force of superior numbers.

And you will have to look behind and beyond the Senate to find the man who more than any other is responsible for this chaos and peril. He keeps himself cautiously hidden from public criticism; but from his temporary—thank Heaven it is only temporary!—residence in the White House he directs and approves of gag rule and bayonets. President Harrison is so anxious for renomination that he is willing to pay the price of a possible civil war in order to obtain it. It is he who sent for Senators when they hesitated to confirm this outrage; and when his arguments failed to overcome their scruples and their common-sense, it was he who pleaded with them, as a personal favor, to vote for both the Gag Law and the Force Bill.

*New York Tribune (Rep.), Jan. 28.*—Once more the combination of a few silver Senators with the Democratic party, defeats and delays a Republican measure of the highest importance. Delays rather than defeats, it may be hoped, since the promised speedy return of absent Senators may yet give the Republicans a majority, in spite of the defection of half a dozen whose conduct gives the strongest possible evidence that rumors of their bargain with the Democrats were not without foundation.

The rule empowering the majority to control the business of the Senate has become necessary to the discharge of its duties by the Senate. Those who vote to thrust it aside, whatever their motives or their tradings, take a tremendous responsibility for which the stanch Republican voters of all the States will hold them to account. If they imagine that they can survive as assistants of the Democratic party and yet retain Republican support and confidence, there are many illustrations in past history which should convince them of their mistake.

Pending the final disposal of the closure resolution and the Election Bill in the Senate, the Republican caucus committee has agreed upon a provisional order of business. After the Reapportionment Bill is passed the Eight-Hour Bill will be taken up, and then the Copyright Measure. In the meantime, any of the appropriation bills may be brought forward. It is certain that diligence on the part of both Senators and Representatives is demanded. A good deal remains to be done, and there are only five weeks to do it in.

#### WORLD'S FAIR V.S. FEDERAL ELECTIONS BILL.

*Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph (Rep.) Jan. 23.*—First Alabama. Then Tennessee. Now Arkansas.

These three States have resolved to boycott the World's Fair, if the Federal Elections Bill is not killed.

The Legislature of Arkansas had a Bill before it to appropriate \$100,000 for the Arkansas exhibit, but action has been postponed until the action of Congress on the Elections Bill is known.

This species of foolishness is becoming popular in the South, and the action of the three States named is likely to be imitated by all the Southern Legislatures in session. Perhaps, too, Northern States with Democratic majorities will do the same.

It is not to be supposed, even if the Bill so objectionable to them should become a law, that these States, with their growing industries and need of extended markets, will deliberately shut themselves out of the benefits afforded by the World's Fair.

To do so, would be to damage themselves and gain nothing whatever.

The intention is solely to make political capital against the Bill, for use in Washington.

*Houston Post (Dem.), Jan. 22.*—The Senate of Alabama has practically given notice that if the Federal Election Bill becomes a law that State will send no exhibit to the World's Fair. Senator Milner, speaking to his motion to table an appropriation bill to provide for such exhibit, said that the passage of the Elections Bill would so injure the State that it would be useless to spend money to try and induce immigration, and the unanimous vote in support of his motion would argue that his conferees all agreed in this view of the matter. The action of the Alabama Senate was clearly a mistake. That the passage of the Federal Elections Bill will injure the South, no candid man can deny; but should we idly fold our hands and resign ourselves to whatever may betide because our difficulties are increased? At Chicago the representatives of all nations will be gathered. They will judge every section of the Union by what they see there. If the South sends no exhibits, the world will naturally conclude that the presuppositions of the Force Bill are true, and immigrants and capital will avoid us. If on the other hand, the South is properly represented, if we can point to ten thousand specimens of art and industry that are inferior to none and say, these are the work of the Southern people, the slander will be stripped of its panoply, will stand naked and ashamed before the world, which, consciously or unconsciously, applies to the peoples of all lands the divine axiom, "by their fruits ye shall know them." Alabama should reconsider the matter. If the Force Bill is passed the South must seize the opportunity afforded by the great Fair to set herself right before the world, to cover her enemies and traducers with confusion.

*Richmond Times (Dem.), Jan. 25.*—Representative Taylor, of Illinois, commenting on the action of Alabama, Arkansas and Tennessee in holding in abeyance appropriations for the World's Fair until the fate of the Force Bill is decided, remarked that "the Republicans will not be bulldozed by the South; that the North will go ahead and hold the Fair regardless of the South."

The South has no intention of bulldozing or boycotting the North; but she certainly will be justified in taking no part in a Northern exposition to which she will be asked to contribute liberally and materially, while every effort is being made by the sections chiefly to be benefited by that exposition to cripple her resources and crush out her prosperity. If the South is to be forced into self protection and absolute reliance upon her own resources, she will need all the money she possesses and all the wealth she can accumulate for promoting her own advantage, and cannot afford to expend her means for the benefit of sections who boast themselves her avowed enemies.

*Charleston News and Courier (Dem.), Jan. 23.*—The Chicago Exposition will enable Alabama and other Southern States to advertise their attractions for settlers in the best possible way and in a most favorable place, and they should make the most of their opportunity. There is no sense in shutting ourselves out of the show if we can make it useful to us, and we can make it useful in many ways.

*Philadelphia Ledger (Ind.), Jan. 23.*—Resolutions for and against the Election Bill, commonly known as the Force Bill, cannot be expected to have much influence when they are passed by party votes. The Illinois Legislature had a resolution of this kind up yesterday, the avowed reason being that the Force Bill would injure the Fair of 1893, and a motion to table it was defeated by the combination of one Republican vote and three Farmers' Alliance votes with that of the Democrats. Such an expression of opinion is not likely to have much effect on Illinois Senators. They are not in the habit of inquiring what their political opponents want them to do.

*Pittsburgh Leader (Ind.), Jan. 25.*—The legislatures of Arkansas, Tennessee and other

Southern States have adopted resolutions making their respective appropriations for World's Fair exhibits conditional on the shelving of the Force Bill. As the disposition to adopt this form of retaliation appears to be general in the South, it is evident that the success of the big national exposition is threatened in a manner which Congress cannot afford to treat lightly.

We do not believe that, if the Force Bill were to pass, it would damage the people of the South to the vast extent represented, seeing that its enforcement would be a matter of difficulty. But the purpose of it is clearly to exasperate the South, and if the South undertakes, in a preliminary fit of exasperation, to express its resentment by striking at the World's Fair, the recourse to such tactics in the existing emergency can hardly be regarded as blamable.

*Chicago News (Ind.), Jan. 23.*—The *Daily News* regrets to notice a disposition to ridicule the Tennessee Legislature, which has passed a resolution postponing action on the State appropriation for the World's Fair until the final disposition of the Force Bill in Congress is known.

Of course the action of the Tennessee Legislature is based upon an entirely erroneous conception of the scope of the World's Columbian Exposition; nevertheless, it shows with great clearness the state of feeling in the average Southern State towards the obnoxious Federal Elections Bill. This jumbling of such totally distinct issues together is unfortunate, but it is not an occasion for ridicule.

Tennessee's action is in marked contrast to the patriotic World's Fair legislation of a majority of the States, but it will doubtless be rescinded when its folly and baselessness are realized.

#### THE "SILVER POOL" INVESTIGATION.

*Philadelphia Press (Rep.), Jan. 24.*—An unexpected feature in the silver pool investigation is that Senator Cameron is the only member of either house who is smirched by the evidence so far given. Mr. Littler yesterday fully confirmed Mr. Vest's evidence on Wednesday, that Senator Cameron so far forgot the decencies and obligations of his position as to make merchandise of his vote, and speculate on the result of his official action.

Mr. Cameron has had this damning evidence out against him for three days, yet he has volunteered no explanations and shown no haste to make a defense. We wish he might prove himself innocent of such a gross violation of official propriety, but the conclusion is irresistible that in view of his silence he is guilty, and that his offense even in his own eyes admits of no extenuation.

We print elsewhere some expressions from our Republican contemporaries on the humiliating position in which Mr. Cameron has placed himself. We doubt, however, if he feels any sense of shame on account of the unsavory exposure. It is the State that has been humiliated through its Senator. The statesmen at Harrisburg, whose choice he is, may congratulate themselves on the style of man they have foisted on their State for another six years. Is there one among those who voted for him who has the manliness to move a vote of censure on this Senator who thus trades on his office, and demand his resignation?

*Philadelphia Inquirer (Rep.), Jan. 24.*—The investigation of an alleged combination known as "the Silver Pool" has as yet been wholly unproductive of information. No one seems to have heard anything about such a pool, and the inference is that it exists only in the imagination of a newspaper reporter, whose dispatches to a Western paper formed the basis for the investigation.

The plain facts about the silver measures before Congress are that they have been championed by Senators and Representatives who believe free silver to be a panacea for all financial ills that flesh is heir to. The silver States

are of course for free silver, and the feeling throughout the West for silver and plenty of it has been steadily growing until its influence has been strong enough to push a free coinage bill through the Senate. This growth has been a steady one, and no silver pool or combination was necessary to control the requisite votes.

The East has not yet arrived at the point where it is willing to accept such radical legislation. The financial centres of the Atlantic coast believe that free silver would seriously disturb values and drive gold from the country. There is no present danger that we shall have free coinage, for President Harrison is opposed to it; but no one can predict with certainty that it will not come before many years. We might as well be prepared for the experiment. If it does not come, so much the better.

*New York Press (Rep.), Jan. 27.*—We do not envy the light in which James Donald Cameron, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, is exposed to public view in the matter of buying \$100,000 worth of silver bullion and then casting a vote for a Free Coinage Bill calculated to make that bullion worth many more thousands of dollars to him. Still Mr. Cameron has not fallen from any sky-piercing pinnacle of statesmanlike greatness. He has always been a patronage Senator, an unscrupulous manipulator of the machine, and an unswerving believer in the principle that "public trust is a public place," the rightful property of whoever can get it by hook or by crook, and for all that is to be made out of its opportunities of gain.

The low sense of honor that permits a man to blind himself to the baseness of deliberately interesting himself, personally and pecuniarily, in the result of legislation that partly depends on his vote, deserves the aggressive and emphatic condemnation of decent public opinion, and that condemnation ought to be directed squarely at the men who are shown to deserve it, as Senator Cameron has been shown. But it will not do half so much good to condemn them and to score them after they are elected to high public place, as it will do to keep them out of public place when they try to get in, and to keep out all men like them.

#### THE NICARAGUA CANAL SCHEME.

*Pittsburgh Dispatch (Rep.), Jan. 25.*—In commenting upon the Bill to loan \$100,000,000 of the Government credit to the Nicaragua Canal scheme the other day, the *Dispatch* remarked that if the Bill should become a law "it will be a modern miracle if the familiar feature of inside construction companies and profitable wheels within wheels be not evolved out of this scheme, throwing wholly into the shade the enormous private fortunes which were similarly coined at public expense out of the famous Pacific Railroad subsidies."

It now appears that we have to tender an apology to the promoters of this project for failure to properly appreciate their acquisitive energy and the promptness with which they adopt the modern method of absorbing all the profits of the enterprise which is to be pushed with Government funds. An interview with Colonel Andrews brings out a very direct intimation that the promoters of the canal project have already made a contract with themselves for its construction; that this contract was made without competition, and at a private meeting. If the Government funds or credit is obtained for the enterprise, we need not fear but the undertaking will be an exceedingly prosperous one—for the contractors who obtained the contract by their own capacity as directors.

This completes the parallel between the new project and the famous Pacific Railroad jobbery. With the legislative provisions so nearly identical there can be little doubt that the methods of carrying them out will be the same. Such a proposition, for the use of Government credit entirely outside the territory of the United States, with such a faithful reproduction of the Pacific Railroad legislation, could hardly be expected to receive any toleration except upon



one hypothesis. It might be interesting to inquire whether another feature of the Pacific Railroad jobbery is not reduplicated by the handing around under the surface at the National Capital of blocks of stock in the construction company that is to absorb the profits of the enterprise, and placing the shares of the enterprise, after the classic policy of the late Hon. Oakes Ames, "where they will do the most good."

#### A SNUB TO THE UNITED STATES.

*Pittsburgh Times (Rep.)*, Jan. 24.—There is bad feeling in Washington over the refusal of the British Government to invite the United States to participate in the International Exposition which opens at Kingston, on the island of Jamaica, next Tuesday. That it was a deliberate refusal is beyond doubt, because if it had been an oversight it would have been corrected, circumstances having occurred which would have been notice to that Government in due time to make the correction. Every Government on this hemisphere will be officially represented at the Exposition except our own. The fact will create hard feeling throughout the country when it is known, and especially in view of the reason for it.

One reason for the refusal of the invitation is on the surface, whatever may be the underlying ones. For years England has been losing a large volume of Jamaican trade, which has been coming to the United States. It is steadily growing through the increased facilities of shipment. The Colonial Government has subsidized a line of fast vessels, and there are many belonging to individuals engaged in this trade. Since the beginning of the present year a New Yorker has established a regular line between Key West and Kingston. England is vexed at this and has made no effort to conceal her vexation. She has been trying to have this trade diverted to Canada, but not with much success. Foster, the Canadian Minister of Finance, is in Kingston now with that object in view. To forward it he recently delivered an address to show that Canada has all the articles which Jamaica must obtain from abroad, and that it would be advantageous to her to do her buying and selling there. A Jamaican paper commenting on his address said that the only way in which Canada could hope to secure this trade was by furnishing cheaper goods than the United States does; that the Jamaicans are not going to sacrifice to a sentiment a trade which has cost them so much to build up. This is the explanation of the refusal. England does not want the United States to strengthen the hold which it has on the trade of Jamaica by a display of its various products.

The bad feeling which this refusal causes is due to this very small business by one of the greatest commercial nations of the world.

#### KANSAS SENATORSHIP.

*N. Y. Evening Post (Ind.)*, Jan. 27.—It will occur to Senator Ingalls to-day, as he prepares to return to Washington for the closing five weeks of his term as United States Senator, that his hope of securing a re-election from an Alliance majority in the Kansas Legislature was as much of "an iridescent dream" as the purification of politics. It is only just to him to say that had he been able to foresee the extraordinary precautions which the Alliance was to take to thwart his plans for re-election, he never would have ever dreamed of their fulfilment. In political warfare, said the great man in his famous code of political ethics, "it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries. The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature would be the derision and jest of history. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme." The untutored farmers of Kansas seem to have read this wonderful code carefully, and to have "sized up" from it with great acuteness Mr. Ingalls's methods of conducting a Senatorial canvass. The precautions against the activity of his immoral nature, as described in the despatch from

Topeka, which they deployed around their members both before and during the Alliance caucus yesterday, must have been as "fatiguing in the extreme" to the Senator as any cant about corruption in politics that ever reached his ears. How could a political warrior, struggling to prevent himself from becoming the derision and jest of history by deceiving the adversary, hiring a few Hessians, or purchasing a few mercenaries, hope to succeed in the presence of such unforeseen vigilance as a guard of three Alliance men for every Alliance member at all hours of the day and night, including meals, together with other guards at all the doors and windows of the caucus-room, and the moral force of hundreds of Alliance visitors in the galleries of the legislative chambers? No statesman of our time has ever had to battle for political existence against such fearful odds.

*N. Y. Star (Dem.)*, Jan. 28.—It seems that the "iridescent dream" of Senator Ingalls has vanished, in the Alliance nomination of Editor Pepper for the Kansas United States Senatorship. Even as a reminiscence, John James Ingalls will always be iridescent. Throughout his political career he has been bright, sparkling and interesting, with a good deal of solid information and hard work underneath the froth and foam that bubbled up when he grew eloquent. His merits, as well as his faults, are characteristic, and the Republican era has evolved few more picturesque personalities. His action in favor of old-fashioned home-rule free elections will stand as a creditable ending to his Senatorial life. If, during the rest of the session, he fall not by the wayside—and such a fall is not to be expected from so positive a character—he will deserve to be well thought of by his fellow-citizens during the period of his retirement from public affairs, however long that may be.

*N. Y. Times (Ind.)*, Jan. 28.—There is reported to be some talk at Topeka about the refusal of the Kansas Senate to meet the House in joint convention to-day for the election of a United States Senator, but the Republicans who control the upper branch of the Legislature will hardly go to the length of preventing an election by such a desperate device in the face of the positive requirements of the Federal statute. If the vote is taken in joint convention, no doubt remains of the defeat of Senator Ingalls by the Alliance candidate, Judge Pepper. The latter received 96 votes out of 124 in the House yesterday, Ingalls getting only 23. Of the 40 Senators, 35 voted for Ingalls and only 2 for Pepper. This gives Pepper 98 votes in 2 Houses, to 58 for Ingalls and 8 for other candidates, the Alliance candidate having 13 more than the number required for an election in the joint convention. Any further effort to defeat the latter can only be factious and unjustifiable, for any party or organization that controls a majority of the legislature is entitled to elect the Senator.

The simple fact is that Mr. Ingalls lost the confidence of the people of Kansas, and they chose a Legislature largely upon the issue of his defeat.

#### IS HILL OUT OF THE RACE?

*N. Y. Herald (Ind. Dem.)*, Jan. 28.—We long ago told David B. Hill that if he missed the chance to make Charles A. Dana Senator from New York, he would also miss the chance to make himself President in '92.

Hill has kicked himself clean out of the Presidential race by grabbing an office for which he is not fitted and refusing to give it to the best equipped man in this or any other section of the country. Hill has "hitched his wagon to a star," and the star has kicked like a mule and reduced the vehicle to kindling wood.

Among other admirable qualities Mr. Dana is a correct statistician and a skilled astrologer. He has cast Hill's horoscope and comes to the conclusion that it will take eighteen years or more for the Governor to travel the length of

Pennsylvania avenue from the Capitol to the White House. We rather thought that Hill might be the Democratic candidate in '96, but we surrender to the calculations of Mr. Dana, who reckons that there is no hope until 1912, and possibly none for ten years thereafter.

We can't see anything in Hill's future except the remorseful and knowing reflection that "it might have been." He has blundered many a time and been forgiven, but the colossal mistake of his life, for which there is no pardon either here or hereafter, was committed when he ignored the claims of the sturdiest knight which this country has produced and took for himself the honors which belonged to Charles A. Dana.

Such an opportunity never comes twice to any mortal man. Not to have recognized it or not to have availed himself of it was much more than a blunder—it was a crime.

*N. Y. Sun (Dem.)*, Jan. 28.—One of the most interesting results of Governor Hill's election to the Senate is the revelation of the actual Mugwump estimate of his status among Presidential candidates. They confess that the Mugwump war cry that the Democracy could have but one candidate, the Stuffed Prophet, or, as that strange-minded and coarse incorporation of egotism now refers to himself, the "Buffalo Hangman," was mere bluff. They show that in their hearts they are aware of a very powerful candidate, in the statesman whose prospects they affected to despise most, as bordering nearer upon vacancy than those of any other eligible citizen belonging to his party. Allowing for the full pressure of sacromantimania upon Mugwump opinion, it will be seen that it was the precise equivalent of the *Sun's* recent averment that if the Democratic National Convention had been assembled then, it would have named David Bennett Hill for President.

The free exhibition of a sense of relief at the introduction of Hill's Senatorship into the Democratic situation, adds the acknowledgment that they have been humbugging all the time, and the evidence that they have begun humbugging on another tack. The talk of their being now out of the woods is as grotesque a pretence as that they were never in the woods.

*Harper's Weekly (Ind.)*, N. Y., Jan. 31.—The sole consideration was the question whether Governor Hill's acceptance of the Senatorship strengthened or weakened his chance of a nomination for the Presidency. Personal and not public considerations have decided the question. But while it is wholly a game, the Governor's undoubted control of his party in this State is a very important element in all calculations of the Democratic action in 1892. Unless there should be some change in the Democratic situation in the State, Governor Hill must be reckoned within the nominating Convention as an important force. He is not the kind of Senator of whom his party can be proud, for he is the kind that is produced by skillful machine politics, and not by the spontaneous admiration of great ability or loyalty to lofty character.

*Chicago Herald (Dem.)*, Jan. 23.—One of the most persistent of American political falsehoods is that which assumes that election to the United States Senate is fatal to any man's presidential ambitions. How this absurdity originated it would be difficult to state, but it seems to have been endowed with everlasting life. Just now it is gaining publicity in the columns of many newspapers that should know better, and is foolishly referred to as a justification of the prediction that Governor Hill's election to the Senate removes him from the ranks of the presidential possibilities.

Of the Presidents of the United States James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, James A. Garfield and Benjamin Harrison had been United States Senators. Garfield had not served



as such, but he was a Senator-elect when he was chosen President. Of the Vice-Presidents who became Presidents John Tyler and Andrew Johnson had been United States Senators. Thus eleven of the twenty-three Presidents have been at one time or another Senators. If any deduction is to be drawn from the senatorial matter it is that service in that body is extremely helpful to presidential aspirants. The Senate may not be a royal road to the White House, but it comes so near it that there can be no excuse for the stupid falsehood now in circulation.

#### BRAINS RATHER THAN MONEY.

*Bulletin Weekly Summary, Honolulu, H. I., Dec. 23.*—Circumstances will force the Republican party to nominate for President a leader conspicuous for his brains rather than money. It is not only within possibility, but within probability that James G. Blaine, for many party and national reasons, joined to his consummate personal and political ability, will be called to the leadership of the Republican party in 1892. It will be time. The Republicans have been for several years without a strong leader, who could and would bravely take the Tariff bull by the horns and modify the policy of the party so as to meet the advanced industrial development of the United States, together with the new political and economic demands attending upon the natural growth of population.

America is not yet ready to accept the sweeping and radical free-trade policies advanced by such gentlemen as Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Gladstone, and a modified Tariff policy is all that can be expected for years to come. Blaine seems to have been the only man in the Republican party who has clearly seen and appreciated the necessities of the hour, and has shown enough foresight and ability to propose a practical solution of the matter through the medium of international reciprocity. That policy is a step in advance of absolute protection and of absolute free-trade. It marks and meets another step in the development and growth of America's gigantic industrial and political system.

#### THE ILLINOIS SENATORIAL CONTEST

*Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Jan. 22.*—The Committee on Elections of the Illinois House of Representatives has agreed to a report to the effect that all the members whose right to hold seats has been challenged shall be declared entitled to them. Thus end the threats of "bouncing" enough Republicans on flimsy pretexts to elect Palmer. This action on the part of the Democrats is sensible. Notice was served on them by the Republicans that whatever they did would be imitated by the other party. For every House Republican ousted a Senate Democrat would have to go—and it would have been done. But the Democrats having backed down, the contest in the Senate will be dropped, and nobody will be disturbed on either side. The Senatorial fight will be fought out fairly, uninfluenced by Democratic skulduggery.

#### A POINTED CRITICISM.

*Atlanta Journal (Dem.), Jan. 23.*—"Nero fiddling while Rome was burning" is only a figurative description of the Republican scheme for correcting the political evils of the country by their Force Bill. There is more political disorder now in the country than there has been at any previous period since the war, and yet the provisions of the Force Bill would not apply to a single existing case.

In Nebraska, three men, representing three political parties, claim the governorship, and the incumbent seeks to bar out the other two by force. In Montana, two organizations, each claiming to be the House of Representatives, are in separate session, and all legislation is blocked. In New Hampshire, a clerk appointed for the purpose has made up a Legislature to suit his party, and give them the Governor and United States Senator, without allowing the House to determine who were its legally elected

and entitled members. In Connecticut, a factious Republican House of Representatives refuses to concur with the Senate in recognizing the Democratic governor elected by the people.

At no recent period have faction, revolution and usurpation been so prevalent in the country. And yet the supporters of the Force Bill ignore all these political disorders and heap all their denunciations upon falsely alleged past or apprehended future abuses in the South, where the political sea is now as calm and unruffled as if there was never a storm to disturb it. Their Bill overlooks the existing political evils in one section, and aims to produce them in another section where all is now peaceful and serene.

#### FOREIGN.

#### WAR MAY BE INADVERTENTLY PRECIPITATED.

*Morning Herald, Sydney, N. S. W., Aus., Dec. 24.*—The danger is that events themselves may assume control of the situation, and give rise to an iron chain of necessity which rulers are powerless to alter. A slight excess of zeal on the part of a naval officer, or even a too conscientious interpretation into acts of the arguments of the diplomatists and the declarations of the Government, and the state of things might be instantly transformed from that of strained peace into that of active war. If the United States sends war ships to Bering Sea, England will most certainly do the same. The orders of the one side will be to effect the capture of certain vessels, of the other, to protect them from capture. It is difficult to see how in such a state of things a collision can be avoided. It is equally difficult to see how, if a collision comes, it can fail to bring on a state of war. It is, indeed, only the greatest difficulty of all to realize the possibility of these two great kindred nations, bound together by so many ties of interest and co-operation, engaging in war on so inadequate a cause, which prevents the former considerations from being so convincing and so alarming as mere logical consequence would show them to be. Neither England nor America really desires war. They have been equally near it before and have avoided it, and they will probably do so again.

#### TO PLEASE THE GALLERIES.

*L'Indépendance Belge, Brussels, Jan. 9.*—The recently published diplomatic correspondence between England and America, regarding the Bering Sea Fisheries, shows clearly that Mr. Blaine, in sending a naval squadron to the scene of the dispute, was merely playing a heroic part to please the electoral gallery without seriously intending to pass from menace to action. Now that the rumors of war have drawn public attention to the fact that this question might possibly become a *casus belli* between the two countries, a settlement by arbitration will no doubt be promptly effected, the subject of seals and otters not being a sufficiently important one to justify a fratricidal struggle between the Englishmen in the Old World and those in the New.

#### THE BERING SEA QUESTION IN COURT.

*London Times, Jan. 14.*—There seems to be a great deal of premature and uninstructed speculation about the probable course of the Supreme Court when the question comes up for decision. We do not profess to have any acquaintance with the practice of the Court or the leanings of the Judges, but that any Americans should be found to object to the jurisdiction of a tribunal which since the days of Chief Justice Marshall they have held up to the admiration of the world, does, we must own, strike us as rather surprising. There are those, it seems, who want to make out that the Government of the United States has been "grossly affronted" because, while diplomatic negotiations were still in a condition of at least suspended animation, a Canadian subject of the

Queen has asserted his claim to appeal to the Supreme Court against the District Court, and has been supported by the Canadian Government, to which a large freedom of action is allowed, especially in matters of private right. Such persons have clearly not asked themselves how Her Majesty's Government could, if so desired, prevent the application from being made. We do not for a moment pretend to offer any opinion upon the issues of Constitutional law which the Attorney-General says he is going to raise in opposing the application for a writ of prohibition, but *prima facie* there appears to be ground for seeking this remedy. The judgment impeached is that of a Federal District Court which, as such, is subject to the review and control of the Supreme Court. In this country the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, which has preserved a most creditable standard of independence and erudition, and which is composed of lawyers who, by their traditions and training under a Federal system, have had peculiar opportunities of becoming familiar with the doctrines of international law, will be received with respect. A decision, indeed, upon the merits of the case altogether in favor of Mr. Blaine's contentions would in no sense be binding upon us, though it would, no doubt, strengthen Mr. Blaine's hands in negotiation. On the other hand, the grant of a writ of prohibition would put an end to Mr. Blaine's policy at a stroke. An adverse decision of the Supreme Court transcends all other authorities within its proper sphere. A simple refusal on the part of the Supreme Court to interfere would leave the controversy precisely where it stood before the application on Monday. It would still be open to diplomatic treatment. A rejection of the demand on the ground of want of jurisdiction might, however, involve further consequences. If the Supreme Court has not jurisdiction in this case over the District Court of Alaska, in what position does the latter tribunal stand? Is it self-centred and independent, like any other Federal Court? On what ground does it take cognizance of the laws and treaties which, in the event supposed, the Supreme Court would declare to be outside its own jurisdiction? We venture upon no conjectures respecting the result, but, at all events, the failure of the application for its direct and indirect purposes is by no means so certain as to account for the effervescence of public opinion in the United States.

#### FAVORING RECIPROCITY.

*Halifax (N. S.) Chronicle, Jan. 24.*—The agitation in favor of unrestricted reciprocity with Canada has taken firm hold of the people of the United States. The most remarkable feature about the articles and addresses which are appearing in United States journals, is the friendly spirit manifested towards the Canadian people, and the recognition, on the part of the United States, that the policy of unrestricted reciprocity would be, in the highest degree, commercially advantageous to both countries. There are a few firebrands, like the *Halifax Herald* across the border, but the patriotic, peace-loving and sensible people of both countries are manifesting an interest in this question, which cannot fail eventually to sweep away any restrictionists who dare to fight against the great move of public opinion now spreading throughout Canada and the neighboring country.

#### KING KALAKAUA'S SUCCESSOR.

*Burlington Hawk-Eye, Jan. 24.*—The sudden death of King Kalakaua will not create any revolutionary tendency in the Hawaiian government. The sister of the deceased King, the Princess Liliuokalani will succeed her late brother. The laws of the Hawaiians require that the King or Queen in office shall name the successor, but that, in the event of the death of the King or Queen without so nominating a successor, the succeeding monarch shall be elected by the people. Lunalilo, who preceded Kalakaua in office, died without naming his successor, and by consequence the choice



was given to the people, and they elected, by their representatives, the late King to be their ruling monarch.

Immediately upon ascending the throne, Kalakaua named his brother as his successor. The brother, however, soon died and then the King proclaimed his sister, Princess Liliuokalani as heiress apparent. During the absence and sickness of her brother the Princess has been invested with the authority of Vice-Regent and so her transition to the throne will be unaccompanied by any change of feelings or appreciable increase of power. The Princess is the wife of an American by the name of John O. Dominis, who was born in Boston and who only recently became a citizen of Honolulu.

#### PARNELL AT LIMERICK.

*Labour World (Michael Davitt), Jan. 17.*—We are glad to note and to acknowledge the moderation of tone which distinguished Mr. Parnell's speech at Limerick. It is a welcome evidence of the return to temperate language and decency of argument after the bluster and Billingsgate of the Kilkenney contest. There was nothing said on Sunday about "gutter-sparrows," "jackdaws," "miserable scum," "hounds" or "traitors." The vocabulary of abuse was not drawn upon, and we would fain hope and believe that Mr. Parnell is by this time thoroughly ashamed of the disgraceful manner in which he was on former occasions led to speak of men who oppose him because they conscientiously believe that his continued leadership of the Irish people would be disastrous to Ireland's cause.

But though we rejoice at this return to ordinary political speech on the part of Mr. Parnell, we are compelled to recognize in his Limerick utterances a steady continuance of his deceptive and unpatriotic purpose. With great persistence he still endeavours to persuade the public that Mr. Gladstone is the main cause of the crisis in the Home Rule movement. He may do his best to re-awaken in the minds of the Irish people an unkindly feeling towards Mr. Gladstone. He will not succeed. The people of Ireland have blotted out of their memories the anti-Irish policies of the Liberal Party anterior to 1886. They have confidence in Mr. Gladstone's honesty of intention and strength of purpose to give to Ireland that measure of Home Rule which would be a satisfactory solution of the National question, and they have implicit trust in the Irish Parliamentary Party to safeguard the National interests in this respect in the Imperial Parliament. In the words of Mr. Parnell, spoken in Edinburgh, when he was presented with the freedom of that city:

"Irishmen are willing to leave these matters in Mr. Gladstone's hands. They are satisfied he will give such a concession as Englishmen will be brought to consider consistent with their interest and the future well-being of their nation. They are satisfied such concessions should be accepted in good faith—that they should be worked out in good faith by both countries; and any man who raises his hand to stop this work of good-will should be put down as a disunionist and as an enemy of his race."

Thus, in every turn which Mr. Parnell makes in the crooked path he has taken, he is met by his better self of a short time ago, and contradicted and condemned.

"To say, and straight unsay,  
Argues no leader, but a  
Liar traced."

#### A LEADER STILL.

*New Haven Palladium, Jan. 26.*—Parnell will not "down," and coolly, as if nothing had happened, he is again in his seat in parliament, directing the affairs of the home rule party, even to the extent of encroaching on the domains of Gladstone and others, who during the O'Shea flurry naturally took up the reins of control of policy. The Parnell faction includes the workers, and the demonstrations at Limerick a week ago and at Waterford yesterday attest the enthusiasm which the crafty Parnell can incite. To these crowds he is the "Savior of Ireland"—a strangely inappropriate title, however, as his supremacy means the alienation of the great English vote, without

which no home rule measure can pass. The better class of Irishmen, who desire a clean issue and an honorable record on which to make the Nationalist fight, are unfortunate in having no leader of commanding ability.

It must nevertheless be reported that notwithstanding the Kilkenney defeat and the apathy and hostility of the English liberals, the Parnellites just now are in high feather. Their pride has been relieved by the result of the Hartlepool election, and Parnell's nerve and persistence have combined with favoring incidents to put him and his friends in a better light for the time being. The test of patriots, however, is self-sacrifice in behalf of the championed cause. Bleeding Ireland and delayed home rule speak volumes for the hollowness of the "triumph" and seal with condemnation the action of the dishonored leader.

*Brooklyn Standard-Union, Jan. 26.*—The latest news from Mr. Parnell is curiously interesting. In the first place, his physical health has wonderfully improved under recent excitement and exertions. A dispatch says:

He now walks with a firm, erect stride, and looks his brother members of the Commons in the face with a determined, confident expression. He is no longer the languid dilettante who strolls into the lobby, receives his letters from the post-office and disappears into the library. He is no longer the pallid, emaciated being swathed in woolen neck-cloths and bound up in a thick cardigan jacket.

That used to be a picture of the "Uncrowned King," but now it is all changed. The crisis is broken, and Parnell, redivivus, has emerged. The new birth has produced a fighting Parnell, holding his head aloft.

Mr. Parnell has for years been emaciated, and his general appearance was that of a confirmed dyspeptic. He now stalks about with fire in his eye. The paper started to oppose him, the *Insuppressible*, has been suppressed. In Parliament he calmly takes the lead of the Irish as if nothing had happened and goes serenely to the front. He holds his old position as to retirement—that is, he will go if guarantees are given by Gladstone—but he is not willing the Irish party shall be used for the sole benefit of the British Liberals, whose home rule sentiments are warm but vague. There is talk that Parnell is coming to America, and, as soon as the law permits, is to marry Mrs. O'Shea.

*The Scotsman, Edinburgh, Jan. 17.*—Mr. John Morley has spoken for himself and for Mr. Gladstone, and though he does not now venture to say that they anticipate a victory for their Home Rule policy, he declares that, whether they win or lose, they will fight the battle out. Mr. Morley is going to fight the battle out, but he makes one or two notable admissions. One is that the result depends upon Ireland, and another is that it is no longer to be regarded as necessary that every provision of the Gladstonian Home Rule Bill should be acceptable to the Irish. This means that the success of Home Rule depends on the effacement of Parnell; and in view of that person's appearances during the last few days, and particularly on Tuesday as chairman at the National League meeting, his effacement seems to be the least probable of all contingencies. No one can discover either in his own speeches or in the receptions accorded him a single indication of such an event. Mr. Morley makes it clear that Mr. Gladstone retains his determination not to go on with Home Rule if Parnell remains at the head of Irish Home Rulers; and to all appearances Parnell is going to remain.

#### RELIEF FOR IRELAND.

*The Tablet (Rom. Cath.), London, Jan. 17.*—The vigorous and well-directed efforts which the Government are making to grapple with the distress in Ireland will command, or ought to command, the sympathy of men of all parties. By arrangements which have already been made, remunerative employment will be found upon relief works for no less than 35,000 men. The works have been carefully planned, and it is hoped that roads, railways, bridges, and harbors may prove a lasting benefit to the

distressed districts. There will be work for every worker, but beyond these are the sick and the poor and the aged and the families without breadwinners. For these also there is help. Already nearly £25,000 has been subscribed in answer to the appeal made by Lord Zetland and Mr. Balfour, and the money will be held sacred for the needs of those who are unable to work for themselves. The fact that Mr. Gladstone has contributed to the fund raised by Mr. Balfour lets one hope that the voices of faction may for once be stilled in the presence of this work of national charity.

#### FINANCIAL.

##### FREE SILVER COINAGE.

*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (Rep.), Jan. 31.*—The ablest financiers of the West are at last turning with disgust from the free-silver side. President Hill, of the Great Northern Railway, a gentleman of wealth and influence, enters a public protest against what he calls "carelessly considered silver legislation." He boldly predicts that if we undertake to mark up the price of silver by legislation, we shall at the same time, and to the same extent, mark down all our property values and inevitably bring upon ourselves a flood of American securities from cautious investors abroad.

The strange financial eccentricities of some of our so-called statesmen continue to be mercilessly criticised by the most astute financiers of Europe. Leon Say, in a recent contribution to a Paris paper, declared that we had destroyed our credit "by abusing it by maladministration of transport enterprises, and by an even worse administration of local finances." If to this should now be added reckless Federal legislation, such as the Free Silver Bill proposes, the French financier's prediction will speedily be realized. He says:

"Unless a reaction occurs in public morals, American credit cannot recover from its abasement, and its agricultural, like its other industries, will remain a prey to successive convulsions, for which transient remedies will be sought by the adoption of experiments certain to fail, continually leading the country to graver crises. If America turns its mines into coin and raises the paper currency in accordance with the ideas of the Farmers' Alliance, no agreement will be possible with Europe on the monetary question. Europe would be foolish to transfer its capital to America in exchange for an absolutely useless mass of silver."

It is not remarkable that Senator Sherman, in his magnificent and powerful argument against the Stewart Free Coinage Amendment, criticised the measure as "revolutionary and dangerous"—a threat against the business people of the United States; a threat "which would produce the most profound financial difficulty that the country had known in the present day and generation; a measure that would put the country back precisely where it had been before the resumption of the specie payment."

He truthfully said that if the friends of silver only had patience and would wait until the element of time acted on the silver law of last session, the policy of this Government and of the French Government, together with the use of silver in South America, would lift the white metal up again to the gold standard and give them gold value for their silver; but if they rejected the gold standard the result would be a constant depreciation of silver.

##### AN ENGLISH VIEW.

*The Bullionist, London, Jan. 17.*—The Markets during the week have shown a certain amount of strength, in one or two departments, almost amounting to a "boom," and the reasons for this lie plainly enough upon the surface—cheap money and a comparatively clear horizon. The French Loan has been satisfactorily arranged without any appreciable disturbance in the Money Market.

The Foreign Markets present two or three features of interest this week. Prominent, of course, is the confirmation of the revolution in Chili, which is a very important affair, and from latest accounts seems very likely to prove successful. Chilean bonds have, of course, suffered to a certain extent, but Peruvians are no



worse on the week. Uruguay stocks have again given way decidedly, and present a very weak appearance. There has been considerable commotion among the thick-and-thin supporters of the English "plan" for the settlement of affairs in Argentina, on the news that the Germans have succeeded in obtaining their interest on the Four and a-Half per Cent. Loan in full and in cash. Where is the use of Heaven-sent guarantors, etc., if the simple German can make better terms himself? That is a question that no doubt many unfortunate English creditors are asking themselves; nor is it yet too late to obtain a satisfactory answer. The truth of the matter is, of course, that the German negotiators, not being stuck with Buenos Ayres Waterworks and Drainage Company's stocks, and having no other interests to serve but those of the bondholders, were enabled to put a pressure upon the Argentine Government which the English negotiators and guarantors could not. The moral is quite plain, and is to the effect that it is better to grind your own axe yourself than entrust it to a man who has an axe of his own which needs an edge.

Signs are not wanting that there is a vastly different spirit abroad in America than has existed for many months. In fact, we may say at once that the Market is advancing now almost in spite of the circumstances of the time being. The prospects of silver legislation change, like the designs in the kaleidoscope, from day to day—sometimes assuming almost a common-sense appearance, as when news comes of the appointment of a commission to examine into members' connection with silver interests, and again drifting into the wildest and most chaotic state, as when free coinage is declared to be an immediate and certain fact. Notwithstanding these disturbances in the air, the situation is becoming clearer day by day. Clearing House certificates are being reduced enormously, money is coming forward on all sides, and it is evident that the public, so long absent from Wall Street, are beginning to take a hand in the deal once more.

### TEMPERANCE.

#### THE "SPIRIT OF MADNESS" WAS INTOXICATING DRINK.

*Nashville American (Dem.), Jan. 23.*—The great tragedy in Chattanooga, the killing of Mr. Fugate by his father-in-law, Judge Warder, is still weighing upon the public mind. To those who know Judge Warder the tragedy is incomprehensible, and the impression is both painful and mystifying. It seems but proper to say that Judge Warder was a man who held the confidence and high esteem of all the people of the State. Men and women who knew him from boyhood testify in terms of unstinted eulogy to the unfailing gentleness, courtesy and strict integrity of the man. Though an ardent Republican, he numbered among his warmest and most devoted friends some of the most prominent and influential Democrats in the State; and he received his appointment as District Attorney largely through the recommendations of Democrats who knew him in private life and at the bar. There is no reason to doubt that the relations between himself and his son-in-law were of the friendliest and pleasantest character.

All this we know. What invisible spirit of madness raised his hand against the life of his daughter's husband we cannot know. It was a fearful, awful, horrible deed; but whatever may be said it must not be left unsaid that he who did it had lived a life whose blamelessness, except for his one besetting sin, had won for him the universal esteem of his countrymen.

#### HIGH LICENSE IN PHILADELPHIA.

*Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, N. Y., Jan. 25.*—Superintendent of Police Lamon, of Philadelphia, in his report to Director Stokley for the year 1890, showed that there were 6,000 more arrests in the city during the past year

than in 1889. He says that this increase is wholly accounted for by the arrests for intoxication and crimes directly attributed thereto, and that a great deal of this increase has been occasioned by the licensing of a large number of wholesale dealers who are in fact retailers. At the same time, Superintendent Lamon neglected to state that he is a member of several "speak-easys," called clubs, where liquor is sold at a profit without license. Let the Judges grant more retail licenses and there will be no necessity for either clubs or so-called wholesale dealers flourishing. The present high license law should make it obligatory upon the Judges to grant a certain number of licenses in such localities where they are necessary, and when a dealer violates the law, repeal his license and grant it to an applicant who will conform to the law.

#### THE STADLER BILL AND THE REPUBLICAN SENATE.

*The Voice (Pro.), N. Y., Jan. 29.*—One of the very first actions of the Senate at Albany (Republican by 6 majority) this session was to pass the Stadler Bill by a majority of 20 to 2. Much as we know about the dominance of the liquor interests at Albany, we were not prepared to see such a needlessly large majority for a Bill so iniquitous. The first section of the Bill is as follows:

"Section 1. The Board of Excise in any city of over five hundred thousand inhabitants shall have power to grant special licenses to licensed keepers of public halls, assembly-rooms, banquet-halls, and other places of public festival and entertainment, permitting them to sell therein, after the hour of 1 A.M. (Sundays excepted), wine, ale and beer to and for the use of members and guests of any social, charitable or other reputable association who may engage such public halls, assembly-rooms, banquet-halls, or ball-rooms for the purpose of giving public balls, festivals, entertainments, banquets, dinners or sociables. The Board of Excise shall receive a fee of not less than \$100 nor more than \$200 for each and every special license issued in accordance with this section."

The bill, thanks to Gen. Husted, was saved from equally prompt action in the Assembly and remanded back to the Committee, where it now rests. If it passes, it throws the door wide open, of course, to all-night carousals in any saloon in this city or Brooklyn. There is not even the ordinary burlesque provision that the holder of this special license shall be possessed of "a good moral character." In fact, none of the "restrictions," so called, imposed on the holder of licenses at present, are imposed on the holders of the "special licenses," except the Sunday-closing restriction, which nobody obeys. Section 2 does, however, grant to the Board of Excise issuing these special authority to make such "rules and requirements" as they desire, which, of course, gives to that always adorable commission an additional political power of no mean proportions. It can even, for all of this bill, make different requirements for different persons. No doubt the first requirement made, if not published, would be that the applicant for a special license must be a good Tammany man.

Such is the Bill that went sliding through the State Senate, Republican by six majority, by an almost unanimous vote! And yet we hear occasional claims even now that that party is on the way to Prohibition because the submission bill was passed (in a futile condition) at the last session.

#### DR. CROSBY'S VIEWS CRITICIZED.

*The Reformer (Temp.), Glasgow, Jan. 17.*—Dr. Howard Crosby at the Church Temperance Society of New York City, spoke last month on "restrictive liquor legislation." With extreme but scarcely creditable candor, he told his audience that he belonged to that class which did not believe in carrying legislation of the liquor question to the extremity of Prohibition, but he believed in punishing the drunkard. And then came a burst of indignation.

"We place the thief, the slanderer, the murderer in the penitentiary, and coddle the drunkard. I would have a law so framed that every man, no matter to what family he belonged, who should be found drunk upon the streets should be imprisoned for one month the first time, two months for the second offense, and I would add a month each time for each offense."

No quarter to the foolish fellow that drinks and gets drunk. He should be able to check-mate "the tricky spirit." If he cannot keep sober at one and the same time, to prison with him. It would be criminal in a State to place the drunkard on a level with the three criminals with which Dr. Crosby would mate him. We cannot call the propensity to theft, slander, and murder physical evils. They spring from a disordered mind, but the addiction to alcoholic liquors, as a rule, is begotten by the liquor itself, and the true method of dealing with the drunkard, seeing that he cannot control the artificial appetite begotten of using liquor, is to effectually prevent him having access to it. Now, that can be brought about by preventing its manufacture, importation, and sale. Prohibit these by the Direct Veto. Get men to enforce the Prohibition, and slay maker, importer, and dealer when convicted, and Dr. Crosby's delicate sense will never be offended with the sight or smell of a drunkard. That is the remedy meet for the destroyer of his fellow-creatures who drugs them with drink. Before fifty men had undergone the last penalty of the law, the crime of drink-making, importing, and selling alcoholic drinks would, like the cattle plague, be fairly well stamped out.

Yet there are good men who, like Dr. Crosby, would spare the criminal publican, and inflict imprisonment and disgrace upon his unhappy victim.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

#### PROF. VIRCHOW ON DR. KOCH'S LYMPH.

*The Lancet, London, Jan. 17.*—It is, of course, possible to assert that the important facts adduced by Professor Virchow, at the Berlin Medical Society, on the 7th inst., had no relation to the injections of Koch's remedy, since they are in harmony with the known progress of the disease. But when we remember that this fluid has been shown to have such powerful disintegrating action upon tuberculous tissues in other parts of the body, and also that such action in the lungs would explain the appearances detailed by Professor Virchow, it seems almost idle to dismiss the notion that the lesions are consequent on the remedy. Does it therefore follow that the remedy is useless, and should forthwith be discarded? Surely not, for it confirms its power for good as well as for evil, whilst it emphasises the need for the greatest circumspection in its use, in selection of individual cases based not only upon the stage of the disease, but also on the general strength of the patient. It suggests too the inadvisability of using it in chronic and quiescent cases on the one hand, and in the actively progressive on the other. Altogether it tends to limit very much its applicability to pulmonary phthisis. But we are not prepared to say, from the evidence so far offered, that it will have to pass into the limbo of other less worthy "cures of consumption."

Since the above was written we learn that Professor Virchow continued his statement at the meeting of the Society on the 14th, and in the debate which followed Drs. A. Fraenkel and Baginsky related cases in which the disease extended whilst under the treatment, thus confirming Professor Virchow's statement. However, Dr. Guttmann was able to adduce other instances in which the improvement was so marked as to leave no doubt of the efficacy of the remedy in some cases. Professor Virchow, in closing the discussion, remarked that he did not question its powers, but only desired to warn against its indiscriminate employment. We note too with satisfaction that the "secret" of the nature of the remedy has at length been divulged. Thus, then, we may look forward with increased hope for the future of the remedy, in ampler knowledge of its nature, and of its effects on the human body; and believe that, although its scope may be more limited than has been imagined, it will be of the greatest service in the treatment of tubercular diseases, when applied under suitable conditions in carefully selected cases.



## Index to Periodical Literature.

## ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

## BIOGRAPHICAL.

- Dana (Richard Henry). 4 pp. *Atlantic*, Feb. Sketch of Mr. Dana's career.  
 Houzeau (Jean-Charles). Sketch of. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 9 pp. Tells the story of his romantic career.  
 Rutledge (John). 12 pp. Frank Garland Cook. *Atlantic*, Feb. Sketch of the Life of John Rutledge of South Carolina.

## EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART.

- Battle (The) of Brunanburh. 3 pp. Anna Robertson Brown. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Translation of an Old English War Song.  
 Copyright. 1 p. *Lippincott's*, Feb. Reflections suggested by the passing of the International Copyright Bill.  
 Folk-Lore (The) of a Nation. 1 p. *Drake's*, Jan. Suggests a Compilation of American Folk-Lore.  
 "Hamlet" (A Greek). 2 pp. Prof. Albert H. Smyth. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Notice of a Translation of "Hamlet" into Greek by Michel N. Damiralis.  
 Lamb (Charles and Mary). Some Unpublished Letters of. 16 pp. William Carew Hazlitt. *Atlantic*, Feb.  
 Men's Women. 3 pp. Julien Gordon. *Lippincott's*, Feb. Sketch of the style of woman whose society men eagerly seek.  
 Paradoxical (The). Two Philosophers of Schopenhauer. 13 pp. Josiah Royce. *Atlantic*, Feb. Essay on the Life and Works of Arthur Schopenhauer.  
 Persian Poetry. Some Characteristics of. 9 pp. James Buckham. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Points out that the distinguishing marks of Persian Poetry are its (1) Mysticism, (2) National Tint, (3) Patriotism, and (4) Romanticism.  
 Read (Thomas Buchanan). 11 pp. R. H. Stoddard. *Lippincott's*, Feb. Biographical and critical notice of T. B. Read, the American poet and painter.  
 "Romeo and Juliet," in French. 7 pp. Charles Seymour. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Criticism of French adaptations of "Romeo and Juliet."  
 Scandinavian Authors (Modern). 5 pp. C. Sadakishi Hartmann. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Brief Biographical and Critical Sketch of Kielland Garborg, Strindberg, and Ole Hanson.  
 Scott (Sir Walter). By His Own Hand. 4 pp. *Atlantic*, Feb. Notice of the newly published "Journal of Sir Walter Scott."  
 Solar Myths in "A Midsummer Night's Dream." 4 pp. Prof. Sinclair Korner. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Points out the connection between the "Midsummer" of Shakespeare and the beliefs and festivals of the old-world sun-worshippers.  
 Swiss Universities. Co-education in. Flora Bridges. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 6 pp. Commends the breadth and liberality of the Swiss Universities which accepted the first applications for admission of women without question.  
 "Tempest (The)." Notes on. 4 pp. Dr. W. J. Rolfe. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Extols "The Tempest," and denies that it was Shakespeare's last work.  
 Tennyson's "St. Agnes' Eve." Literary Factors of. Prof. Albert S. Cook. *Post-Lore*, Jan. Describes "St. Agnes' Eve," as a study of devotional passion, "written with 'exquisite' skill in language that is purely 'Germanic.'"

## POLITICAL.

- Civil Service Reform. An Object Lesson in. 6 pp. Theodore Roosevelt. *Atlantic*, Feb. Showing that appointments to the public service are made without reference to the politics of the appointee.

## RELIGIOUS.

- Canonicity. A Recently Proposed Text of. 33 p. W. M. McPheters, D.D. *Presbyterian Q'ly*, Jan. Reprint of Dr. McPheters' Inaugural Address on the Occasion of his Installation as Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at Columbia.  
 Chinese Buddhism. Warren G. Benton. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 8 pp. Dwells mainly on the present status of this ancient faith in the land of its adoption, and on the moral and religious status of the people.  
 College Pulpits. Prof. J. S. Murray, D.D. *Homiletic Rev.*, Feb. 6 pp. Recommends the identification of the President with the pulpit, and short sermons on practical subjects.  
 Dryasdust (Dr.). The Spoiling of. 13 pp. Robert A. Lapsley. *Presbyterian Q'ly*, Jan. Suggests the introduction into theological seminaries of a method of Bible study which would help the students to become effective preachers.  
 Evangelist (The) and His Work. Rev. B. Fay Mills. *Homiletic Rev.*, Feb. Proposes to give Evangelistic effort the right of way over every other form of Christian activity.  
 God, the Fatherhood of. 15 pp. R. A. Webb, D.D. *Presbyterian Q'ly*, Jan. Deals with the questions whether Adam, before the Fall, was, and whether any unregenerated man is a subject or a child of God.  
 Heredity and Christian Doctrine. Charles F. Deems, D.D., LL.D. *Homiletic Rev.*, Feb. 8 pp. Recognizes the law of heredity as beneficial in its tendency, but urges the right of society to interfere with sins which produce moral depravity.  
 John's (St.) Argument from Miracles. 32 pp. L. G. Barbour. *Presbyterian Q'ly*, Jan. A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel.  
 New England Meeting-House (The). 14 pp. Alice Morse Earle. *Atlantic*, Feb. Description of the Meeting-Houses of the Early Settlers in America.  
 Scriptures. The Divine Authority of, versus Traditionalism. D. S. Gregory, D.D. *Homiletic Rev.*, Feb. 7 pp. The Word of God sufficient for all truth. Traditionalism a failure. But while rejecting the claims of churches and theologians as authority, we must guard against rejecting the aid which the Spirit of God may furnish through the Church of the ages, to the better understanding of the Word.  
 Union (The) for which Jesus Prays. 7 pp. A. W. Milster. *Presbyterian Q'ly*, Jan. A commentary on John XVII 20 to 23.

## SCIENTIFIC.

- Agricultural Science. Progress in. Dr. Manley Miles. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 11 pp. Dwells especially on the inter-dependent relations of plants and animals.  
 American Industries. The Development of, Since Columbus. III. William F. Durfee. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 18 pp. The transition from charcoal to anthracite coal and coke furnaces.  
 Aryan Question (The) and Prehistoric Man. T. H. Huxley. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 14 pp. Supports the view that the Aryan race (fair haired long heads) passed through all stages of their development within the Eurasian region.  
 Circle (the). The Squaring of. 33 pp. Herman Shubert. *The Monist*, Jan. A historical sketch intended to show that the circle cannot be squared.  
 Cold. The Storage of. Charles Morris. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 7 pp. Treats of the influence of snow in the economy of nature, tracing it back to that remote period at which the molten earth was too hot to permit the existence of water near its surface.  
 Criminal Anthropology. Illustrative Studies in. 20 pp. Prof. Cesare Lombroso. *The Monist*, Jan. Criticism of Zola's. I "La Rêve Humaine." II Observations on certain experiments in criminal anthropology and psychiatry.

German Philosophy in the XIXth Century. 15 pp. Friederich Jodi. *The Monist*, Jan. Observations on the works of some modern German philosophers.

Souls (Five) With but a Single Thought. 18 pp. Carns Sterne. *The Monist*, Jan. Observations on the "psychological life" of the star-fish.

Truth, The Criterion of. 16 pp. Dr. Paul Carns. *The Monist*, Jan. A Dissertation on the Method of Verification.

Theories. The Architecture of. 16 pp. Charles S. Peirce. *The Monist*, Jan. Animadversions on the tendency to hasty generalization displayed in many systems of science and philosophy.

Universe (the) A New Theory of. 5 pp. Charles Morris. *Lippincott's*, Feb. Inferences drawn from recent astronomical discoveries.

## SOCIOLOGICAL.

A Long-Unpaid Debt. 9 pp. William Everett. *Atlantic*, Feb. Advocating the payment of what are known as the "French Spoliation Claims."

Saloon (The). On what Line may all its Enemies Unitedly do Battle? No. II. Howard Crosby, D.D. *Homiletic Rev.*, Feb. 3 pp. High license the only practical form of Prohibition.

Science. New Chapters in the Warfare of. XI. From Babel to Comparative Philology. Part II. Andrew D. White, LL.D. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 16 pp. The Babel story of the confusion of language a myth. But our great body of Sacred literature rendered only more valuable by the discoveries of science.

## UNCLASSIFIED.

Childe Harold, The Grave of. 5 pp. Dr. T. F. Wolfe. *Drake's*, Jan. Description of Byron's Tomb in the village church of Hucknall-Toukard.

Gesture. Greeting by. Garrick Mallory. *Pop. Sc.* 14 pp. Treats of the most familiar greetings among various races.

Geronimo, In the Clutches of. 3 pp. Will Lisenbee. *Drake's*, Jan. Account of a skirmish with Indians.

Kew (An American). 9 pp. Julian Hawthorne. *Lippincott's*, Feb. Proposes to convert Bronx Park into a Botanical Garden.

Metallic Millinery. 2 pp. *Drake's*, Jan. Brief description of improvements in the manufacture of metallic articles of dress.

Mexico in 1874. Through. 3 pp. Charlotte Rogers. *Drake's*, Jan. Account of a trip from New York to the City of Mexico in 1874.

Nota: An Unexplored Corner of Japan. 17 pp. Percival Lowell. *Atlantic*, Feb. Reminiscences of a trip to Japan.

Parks (Public). The Next Stage in the Development of. 10 pp. Alpheus Hyatt. *Atlantic*, Feb. Proposition to introduce Zoological Gardens into city parks.

Physical Training. Precision in. M. George Demy. *Pop. Sc.*, Feb. 10 pp. The end sought should be well defined, and the means employed perfectly adapted to the proposed end, and compatible with the human organization.

Picture-Frames and How to Make Them. 1 p. Carrie May Ashton. *Drake's*, Jan. Hints to picture-frame makers.

Sierras (the), West of. 10 pp. Charles Howard Shinn. *Lippincott's*, Feb. History and Description of California.

## GERMAN.

## BIOGRAPHY.

German Social Democracy. The Senior of the. R. M. Ueber Land and Meer, Stuttgart, Jan. 1 col. Makes the 71st birthday of Frederick Engels the occasion for a notice of his life and labors.

## EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART.

Art of Beautifying. The. Ernst Schulz. *Ueber Land und Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan. 3 cols. Teaches that almost all faces approximate to some type of beauty, and that all are capable of being improved by art and regular rules.

Cramming. *Grenboten*, Leipzig, Jan. 16 pp. Condemns the whole system of cramming, and illustrates the argument by personal experience.

Dramas (Spanish, Italian and French) In the Programmes of German travelling troupes. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Renaissance-Literatur*, Berlin, Jan. 16 pp.

German Language. A Glance into the Future of. Ernst Eckstein. *Vom Fels zum Meer*, Stuttgart, 4 pp. Traces the laws of modification followed by High German and the Latin languages, and indicates the tendency of further evolution of the German language.

German Literature. History of English Influence upon, in the 18th Century. Max Koch. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Renaissance-Literatur*, Berlin, Jan. 7 pp.

Milton's First Hungarian Translation. Heinrich v. Whislocki. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Renaissance-Literatur*, Berlin, Jan. 2 pp.

Poetry. A study of the Methods of Presentation of the Subject in. Hubert Roettker. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Renaissance-Literatur*, Berlin, Jan. 31 pp.

Romeo and Juliet. Investigation into the Historical Development of the Materials of. Ludwig Fränkel. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturgeschichte und Renaissance-Literatur*, Berlin, Jan. 44 pp.

## SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

Arithmetic and Mathematics. Anton Michalitska. *Westermann's Monats Hefte*, Brunswick, Jan. 7 pp. Discusses numbers and mathematics as necessary to our comprehension of matter, and as the preparatory school of philosophy.

Bacteria. The Battle with. *Gartenlaube*, Leipzig, Jan. 2 pp. Treats of the cure of Diphtheria in Animals.

Eye and Ear. Blindness and Deafness. Otto Gumprecht. *Westermann's Monats Hefte*, Brunswick, Jan. 8 pp. A bright essay on the aid of the senses to the intellect.

Infant Mind. On the Development of. III. IV. Professor W. Preyer. *Vom Fels zum Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan. 7 pp. Traces the awakening of mind by impressions through the senses. Awakening of Will, etc.

Mesmerism, Spiritualism and Hypnotism. Romulus Katscher. *Nord und Süd*, Breslau, Jan. Superstition or misinterpretation of Nature too deeply ingrained in our natures to be banished by a little modicum of science.

North Pole (the) A New Route to. *Ueber Land und Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan. Discusses Nansen's proposal to drift with the polar current from the Siberian Islands, across the Pole to the west coast of Greenland.

Philosophy (American). *Grenboten*, Leipzig, Jan. 9 pp. Accepts Monism as the characteristically American system, and antagonizes it.

Sleeping Plants. W. Willy. *Vom Fels zum Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan. 8 pp. Ills. An interesting and instructive chapter of Botany.

Tuberculosis. The Cure of. C. Falkenhörst, with Portrait of Koch, and illustrations of the cultivated bacilli. *Vom Fels zum Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan. Discusses Koch's treatment with confidence in its ultimate triumph.

## SOCIOLOGICAL.

- Christmas and New Year Customs. Richard March. *Ueber Land und Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan., 2 pp. Describes the modes of observance in Austria and Germany and has a special word for the Japanese observance of the day.
- New York, The Poor and Indigent in. Wilh. F. Brand. *Vom Fels zum Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan., 4 pp. ill. Pictures a dark side of New York life.

## UNCLASSIFIED.

- African Diary (My) From. Karl Peters, *Westermann's Monatshefte*, Brunswick, Jan. 24 pp., illustrated. Sketch of the German Emin Pasha Expedition.
- Coburg Fortress (The). A. Trinius. *Ueber Land und Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan., 2 Cols. The fortress described, its legends brought to the light, and its story told.
- Condemned Innocent. Fr. Helbig. *Gartenlaube*, Leipzig, Jan., 2 pp. Discusses false and circumstantial evidence, Evidence of children, etc., with the trial of Miss Schimmel in illustration.
- Fir Trees, The Stripping of. Dr. W. *Ueber Land und Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan., 1 Col. Discusses the ravages of squirrels among the fir shoots in the fall season and recommends a charge of No. 6 or 7 shot.
- Gold of California. Dr. M. Lorking. *Vom Fels zum Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan., 1 p. Gives statistics of the Gold yield, and passes to the subject of the oyster beds of the Atlantic Coast, and the inland and export trade in them.
- Lighthouses on the Sea Coast. Julius V. Goerne. *Westermann's Monatshefte*, Brunswick, Jan., 12 pp., illustrated. Sketches the Lighthouse system, from the earliest efforts to provide for the safety of vessels along the coast.
- Pompeli, II. Ludwig Salomon. *Westermann's Monatshefte*, Brunswick, Jan., 12 pp., illustrated.
- Ratskeller, (The Bremen). Wilhelm Berger. *Ueber Land und Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan., 4 Cols. A chatty article anent the city wine cellar in Bremen.
- Superstition, The Tragedies and Comedies of. *Gartenlaube*, Leipzig, Jan., 2 pp.
- Zone-Tariff System of Railway Rates. Max Mirth. *Vom Fels zum Meer*, Stuttgart, Jan., 5 pp. Traces it to the English penny-postage system, and argues from the success which has attended its introduction, that it will lead to a great development of the railway system.

## Books of the Week.

## AMERICAN.

- Africa (North and Central), Travels and Discoveries in. Including Accounts of Timbuktu, Sokoto, etc. With Full Page Ills. (Minerva Library.) Henry Barth Ph. D., Cloth, 12mo, 548 pp. 75c. Half Calif, \$1.75. Ward, Locke & Co.
- Biglow Papers (The). James Russell Lowell. 12 mo, 568 pp. Cloth, \$1.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Crystal Button (The). Chauncey Thomas. Ed. by George Houghton. 16mo, 314 pp. Cloth, \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Engineering, Constructive Steam Engines, Pumps and Boilers. (Their Accessories and Appendages.) Jay M. Whitham, M.E.C.E. 8vo, 908 pp. Cloth, \$10.00. John Wiley & Sons.
- Industry, Captains of. 2nd Series. James Parton. 16mo, 415 pp. Cloth, \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Lilith. Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth. Paper cover, 50c. Cloth, \$1.00. Robert Bonner's Sons.
- Maids, Young and Old. Clara Louise Burnham. 16mo, 404 pp. Paper, 50c. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Mary Barton. A Tale of Manchester Life. Mrs. Gaskell. 12mo, 422 pp. One-half Leather, 75c. Ward, Locke & Co.
- Mrs. Harold Stagg. Robert Grant. Paper cover, 50c. Cloth, \$1.00. Robert Bonner's Sons.
- Ocean Knight (An). A story of the Corsairs and their Conquerors. Translated from the French of Fortune Du Biosgobey. Illustrated with 69 Artistic Engravings by Adrian Marie. Small 4to. Cloth, Gilt \$3.50. Frederick Warne & Co.
- Palm of Death (A) And Other Poems. S. Weir Mitchell, M.D., LL.D. 8vo, 70 pp. Cloth, \$1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Reunited. By a Popular Southern Author. Paper cover, 50c. Cloth, \$1.00. Robert Bonner's Sons.
- Sensitive Plant (A). E. and D. Gerard. Appleton. Paper, 50c.
- Socialism, New and Old. William Graham, M.A. International Scientific Series. Vol. LXVIII. Appleton. Clo.
- Sitting Bull, Life of; and the Indian War. W. F. Johnson. 12mo, 600 pp. Cloth, \$1.50. Hubbard Bros. Philadelphia, Pa.
- Unloved Wife (The). Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth. Paper cover, 50c. Clo., \$1.00. Robert Bonner's Sons.
- U. S. Military Academy at West Point: Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the: from its Establishment, March 16, 1802, to the Present Time. Bvt. Major-General George W. Cullum. Third Edition, from Entirely New Plates, 3 vols. 8vo. \$18.00 Cloth. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Wayland (Francis). Prof. Jas. O. Murray. 16mo, 293 pp. Cloth, \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

## FRENCH.

- Afrique (l') Septentrionale, Histoire de. Ernest Mersier. 3 vol. in-18. Ernest Leroux, 28, rue Bonaparte, Paris. 25 fr.
- Album (nouvel) de Paris. Monuments, œuvres d'art, etc. 1 vol., in-4 oblong. Chez Henri Vivien, 18, rue Saint-Lazare, Paris.
- Anti-Koch: une protestation du sens commun. E. Goett. Brochure in-18. Librairie W. Hinrichsen, 22, rue de Vermeil, Paris. 75 cent.
- Basse-République, Histoire de la (1870-1890). Alfred Bertezene. In-8°, 368 pages. Lib. de la Voix de Paris. 155, rue Montmartre. 20 francs.
- Colomb (Christophe). Le Compte Roselly de Lorgnes. In-4°. Victor Palmé, 76, rue des Saints-Pères, Paris. 25 francs à 35 francs.
- Dictionnaire de l'Administration Française. Maurice Beck, Membre de l'Institut. Avec la collaboration des Membres du Conseil d'Etat, etc. 3e édition. Grand in-8° à 2 col., 160 p. Berger-Levrault et Cie., Paris. En 12 livraisons mensuelles. 2 fr. 50 la livraison.
- Espagne (l') Études sur. A. Morel Fatio. Petit in-8°. Émile Bouillon, Editeur, 67, rue Richelieu, Paris.
- Littérature Française. Principes de Composition et de Style. F. Deltour. 10e édition. In-18 Jésus. Delagrave, Paris.
- Mithridate Eupator, Roi de Pont. Theodore Reinach. Illustré. Grand in-8°. xvi-494 p. Firmin-Didot et Cie., Paris.
- Poissons de la France, Histoire naturelle des. Dr. Émile Moreau. 3 vol. Grand in-8°. G. Masson, 120 boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris. 65 francs.
- Question Ouvrière (la) en Italie. Prof. Santangelo-Spoto. In-8°. 8 p. Imp. Levé, Paris.
- Races Humaines (les). Dr. R. Vernean. Edition illustrée. In-4° à 2 col. J. B. Baillière et Cie., Paris. En 22 séries à 50 cent. l'une.

## Current Events.

Thursday, Jan. 22.

In the Senate, the Aldrich Closure Resolution is made unfinished business ..... In the House, the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill is passed ..... The Stewart Rapid-Transit Bill is reported to the New York Senate, ordered to a third reading, and recommitted: the Assembly by a vote of 61 to 53 recommits the Stadler Special License Bill.....

The Funeral Services of King Kalakaua are held in San Francisco.....

In New York City:—The Surrogate decides that Eva Mann was never the wife of Robert Ray Hamilton.....

Steinitz wins the chess match for the championship of the world; the 19th game resulting in a draw.....

In the German Reichstag a motion is made to repeal the prohibitions on American pork and bacon imports; Dr. Van Boetticher objects to the motion on the ground that American pork is injurious to health..... The British Parliament reassembles; Mr Parnell assumes the Irish leadership..... Mr. Benjamin Constant, Brazilian Minister of War dies at Rio Janeiro..... 2,000 miners at Sosnowice, Russia, go on a strike; this is the first strike that has occurred in Russia..... The Anglican Cathedral in Melbourne, Australia, is consecrated with imposing ceremonies.

Friday, Jan. 23.

A memorial from the ex-Union soldiers of Topeka is presented to the Kansas House, asking that Senator Ingalls be returned to the United States Senate.....

The Legislatures of Missouri, North Carolina and Arkansas pass resolutions against making appropriations for the World's Fair while the Elections Bill is pending.....

Prince Baudouin, nephew of King Leopold, and heir to the throne of Belgium, dies in Brussels..... A dispatch from Buenos Ayres states that the Chilian insurgents are masters of the situation..... The German Reichstag, by a vote of 133 to 103, defeats the motion to repeal the prohibition of the importation of American pork..... A new Brazilian Ministry is formed..... Cardinal Janos Simor, Archbishop of Gran and Primate of Hungary, dies at Gran, aged 74.....

Saturday, Jan. 24.

The Senate takes another recess without reaching a vote on the Closure Resolution.....

The Massachusetts Historical Society celebrates its centennial in Boston.....

The 100th anniversary of the admission of Vermont into the Union is celebrated by the Vermont Association of Boston.....

Mr. Parnell leaves London for Ireland to continue his campaign there.....

The *Insuppressible*, the newspaper started in Dublin as a rival to *United Ireland*, stops publication..... In Chili, the insurgents continue to gain strength and confidence; workmen in Valparaiso are joining the insurgent forces in large numbers; the Government has declared the large towns to be in a state of siege..... The *Novoye Vremya* announces that the Russian Senate has decided that Hebrews are not entitled to acquire or hold real estate beyond five versts from the district or provincial courts.....

Sunday, Jan. 25.

The Austrian Reichsrath is dissolved by an unexpected decree..... 4,000 unemployed workmen of Hamburg hold a meeting, and resolve to send a petition to the Senate, asking aid in their destitute condition.....

Monday, Jan. 26.

In the Senate, the Aldrich Closure Resolution is displaced by a vote of 35 to 34, the Apportionment Bill is taken up..... The House passes the Naval Appropriation Bill.....

The New York Assembly pass the resolution for the appointment of a special committee to investigate the Census.....

Senator Cameron testifies before the Silver Pool Investigating Committee that he bought and sold 100,000 ounces of silver on margin before the Bill passed the Senate.....

Thirty-one ballots have been taken for United States Senator in the Illinois Legislation without any change.....

A dispatch from Chili says that the rebels have bombarded Coronel..... In the German Reichstag Herr Kardorff proposed that the German Government open negotiations with the American Government in reference to the remonetization of silver..... The youngest son of Emperor William was baptized receiving the name of Joachim Joseph Humbert..... Spain accepts the proposal of the United States Government for the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty relative to American trade with Cuba.....

Tuesday, Jan. 27.

In the Senate, the Apportionment Bill is taken up..... Judge W. A. Peffer is nominated by the Kansas Farmers' Alliance to succeed John J. Ingalls in the United States Senate..... The Wisconsin Legislature elect ex-Secretary William F. Vilas to succeed John S. Spooner as United States Senator..... Attorney-General Miller presents his answer in the Bering Sea case before the United States Supreme Court; he holds that the Seal fisheries question is for the Executive, and not the Judicial Department.

The *Chester Courant* says that it has authority to state that Mr. Gladstone is about to resign the leadership of his party..... The Parnellite Leadership Committee protest against Mr. McCarthy assuming the leadership; McCarthy refuses to relinquish the position..... Emperor William celebrates his thirty-second birthday..... In the British House of Commons, the Resolution of 1880, forbidding Bradlaugh to take the oath or to affirm, is expunged from the House Records..... The Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies reject the Treaty of Peace with Dahomey.....

Wednesday, Jan. 28.

The Senate discusses the House Apportionment Bill.....

The New York Senate passes Senator Stewart's Rapid Transit Bill; Senator Stadler's Special License Bill is ordered to third reading in the Assembly.....

The Connecticut House Committee on Canvass of Votes makes its report, and decides that of the State officers, only Nicholas Staub, State Controller, is elected..... The Oregon House passes a Bill to provide the State with the Australian system of ballot.....

The annual financial statement to the Italian Chamber of Deputies shows a deficit for 1891 of 60,000,000 francs; the McKinley Law, it is stated, has not had any damaging effect upon Italy.

The Press Association announces that the report that Mr. Gladstone intends to retire from the leadership of his party is unfounded..... The French squadron cruising in the waters of New Zealand is ordered to Chili.....



# OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ABOUT FUNK & WAGNALLS' STANDARD DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

From the hundreds of Press Notices given by editors to whom the Prospectus and Sample Pages of this Dictionary were sent for critical examination, we select the following, almost at random :

## Will be a Marvel even to Scholars.

WESTERN CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, Cincinnati, says: "After looking over the pages submitted to us, we are persuaded that we are soon to have a Dictionary that will be a marvel even to scholars, and we wish the publishers great success."

## The old days of Dictionary Monopoly Gone Forever.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, Burlington, Iowa, says: "One sees at first that the old days of dictionary monopoly are gone forever. . . . As this is the age when old prejudices and customs are laid one side and innovations are of daily transpiration in our busy and turbulent modern life, there is no reason why a new dictionary possessed of such intrinsic merit should not quickly become the 'Standard' in reality as well as in name."

## Features which No Other Dictionary can Show.

THE DEMOCRATIC WATCHMAN, Bellefonte, Pa., says: "The English Language is supplied with dictionaries of the highest excellence, including those of Webster and Worcester, which were generally considered as near perfection as such productions could possibly be; but we have had an opportunity of examining advanced sheets of Funk & Wagnalls' Standard Dictionary of the English Language, which exhibit features which no other dictionary can show and which will be of the greatest advantage to those who wish to attain the largest acquaintance with the meaning of English words. In the matter of definition it is more comprehensive than any other work of the kind, and it greatly improves upon the usually adopted method of indicating how words should be pronounced."

## It is Much Needed.

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